



SIR CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL,
— Rear Admiral of England.
*Engraved by L. Wootton from the Original
in the Hampton Court Collection.*

LIVES
OF THE
BRITISH ADMIRALS:
CONTAINING AN ACCURATE
NAVAL HISTORY
FROM THE
EARLIEST PERIODS.

BY DR. JOHN CAMPBELL.

THE NAVAL HISTORY CONTINUED TO THE YEAR 1779,
BY
DR. BERKENHOUT.

A NEW EDITION,
REVISED, CORRECTED,
And the Historical Part further continued to the Year 1780,
BY THE LATE
HENRY REDHEAD YORKE, Esq.

And further continued to
THE LAST EXPEDITION AGAINST ALGIERS IN 1816,
WITH
THE LIVES OF THE MOST EMINENT NAVAL COMMANDERS
From the Time of Dr. Campbell to the above Period,
BY
WILLIAM STEVENSON, Esq.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.
VOL. IV.

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OF

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LIVES
OF
THE ADMIRALS:
INCLUDING
A NEW AND ACCURATE
NAVAL HISTORY.

CHAP. I.

The Naval History of Great Britain, from the Union of the two Kingdoms, to the end of the Reign of her Majesty Queen Anne.—Continued from the preceding Volume.

UPON the decease of Rear-admiral Dilkes, as mentioned in the latter end of our last volume, the command devolved on Captain Jasper Hicks, who was the senior officer, and who sailed from Leghorn to the coast of Genoa, where embarking the troops at Vado, a little town to the westward of Savona, he escorted them safely to Spain, and then proceeded with his squadron to Lisbon, where he received orders to put it in the best condition he could, against the arrival of Sir John Leake, who was coming, with the title of admiral and commander-in-chief, from England. It may not be amiss to observe, that this year the enemy had a considerable force in the Mediterranean, which

relieved their party in the island of Minorca, and did other services in those parts; but it was in a manner by stealth, and in the absence of our fleet, which, as the reader has seen, was then before Toulon. I shall conclude this subject, with observing, that how ill soever our affairs went in Spain, it was owing entirely to the disputes among our land-officers, and the mischiefs and miscarriages induced thereby: for, at sea, all things went well; our fleets and squadrons did all that could be expected from them, and it seemed to be our misfortune, that it was not in their power to do all that was to be done.*

If it had, we should have certainly carried our point, and King Philip, notwithstanding all the great succours he received from his grandfather, would have been obliged to quit his pretensions to Spain, and the Indies.† But, as Bishop Burnet has shewn, the Austrian politics, at this juncture, fell in with the French; and yet we continued to serve that august house, not only at the expense of our interest, but, as it were, in spite of their teeth.‡

* Complete History of Europe, for 1707. Burnet, Burchet, Oldmixon, Annals of Queen Anne, &c.

† It is true, many, indeed most of the ancient nobility, adhered steadily to King Philip; but still, partly from the misunderstanding between the kingdoms and principalities which compose the Spanish monarchy, the feuds among the grandes, and the insinuations of some politicians, that as they became Bourbonites only to prevent the dismembering the dominions of their crown, they might turn Austrians again if they found this the only way of compassing this end; there was a strong party for King Charles III. who, by the assistance of the maritime powers, might have been placed and kept upon the throne, at least, for a considerable time.

‡ As this is a very extraordinary assertion, I think myself obliged to cite Bishop Burnet's own words. "The court of France, finding they could not prevail on the king of Sweden, made a public application to the Pope for his meditating a peace. They offered the dominions in Italy to King Charles; to the States, a barrier in the Netherlands, and a compensation to the duke of Savoy, for the waste made in his country; provided that, on those conditions, King Philip should keep Spain. and the West Indies. It was

A.D.
1707.

Before I return to the consideration of affairs nearer home, it will be proper to say something as to a secret treaty between the queen of Great Britain, and King Charles III. of Spain, because that was the real source of some very great events which afterwards happened, though there is very little mention made of this treaty in any of our histories. Mr. Stanhope, afterwards Earl Stanhope, and a great minister here, then managed her majesty's affairs with King Charles. He, representing the zeal with which Great Britain had always supported his Catholic majesty, and the immense expense she had been at, in order to establish him on the throne of his ancestors, prevailed on him, partly out of gratitude, and partly from a sense of the necessity he lay under of depending still upon our protection, to conclude secretly a treaty of commerce, extremely favourable for the subjects of Britain, and which, in case that prince had been firmly established on the throne of Spain, must quickly have reimbursed the nation all she had laid out for the service of his Catholic majesty.

By it, the English alone were entrusted with the Barbary trade, and were to import thence into all the maritime places in Spain, such kind of goods as should appear to them proper, and without paying any higher duty, than if those goods were actually the growth and merchandize of Great Britain. The English merchants residing in Spain, were to give security for their duties, and were to pay them six months after the goods were landed and sold. A new book of rates was to be established, by English and Spanish commissioners, which

“ thought the court of Vienna wished this project might be enter-
 “ tained; but the other allies were so disgusted at it, that they made
 “ no steps towards it. The court of Vienna did what they could to
 “ confound the designs of this campaign, for they ordered a detach-
 “ ment of twelve thousand men to march from the army into Lom-
 “ bardy, to the kingdom of Naples, &c.”

was not to be altered, and all merchandizes that were omitted therein, were to pay *seven per cent. ad valorem*, according to the invoice. These advantages were in themselves very great; but there were still greater secured by a separate article, in which it was mutually agreed, that the whole commerce of the Spanish West Indies should be carried on by a joint company of Spanish and British merchants: but because this could not be immediately carried into execution, since Spain and the Indies were then in the hands of King Philip, it was further stipulated, as far as King Charles could consent, that her Britannic majesty should, for the present, trade freely in all the ports of the West Indies, with ten ships, each of the burden of five hundred tons, under the escort of as many ships of war as her majesty should think proper. France was to be for ever excluded from this commerce; and if, at any time afterwards, either of the contracting parties should depart from this agreement, then they were to forfeit all the advantages granted them by this treaty; which was signed the 10th of July, 1707, by the ministers of his Catholic majesty, and Mr. Stanhope. *

* Some people have affected to doubt, whether there ever was such a treaty as this; but that was only at a time when there was a necessity of keeping it secret. Doctor Swift, who wrote the conduct of the allies, and who had as good lights as any writer of that time, says a little disingenuously. "Our trade with Spain was referred the same way; but this they will pretend to be of no consequence, because that kingdom was to be under the house of Austria, and we have already made a treaty with King Charles. I have indeed heard of a treaty made by Mr. Stanhope with that prince, for settling our commerce with Spain: but, whatever it were, there was another between us and Holland, which went hand in hand with it. I mean that of the barrier, wherein a clause was inserted, by which all advantages proposed for Britain, are to be in common with Holland." Swift's *Miscellanies*, vol. iii. p. 3. The observation I would make, is, that the fact here laid down, is by no means true, the barrier treaty, and this with Spain, could not be carried on together, since the one was signed the 10th of July, 1707, and the other

The person who was entrusted to carry this important treaty to London, embarked, for the greater expedition, on board a small vessel bound for Genoa, which vessel was unluckily taken by a French privateer. The express, as is usual in such cases, threw his mail overboard; but the French captain promising a considerable reward, in case it could be recovered, a negro slave undertook to dive, and bring it up; which he performed, and it was immediately transmitted to the Marquis de Torci, the French king's minister for foreign affairs, who took care to send a copy of it, very speedily, to the Hague, where it made a great impression upon the States-general, though they did not think fit to complain of it, but contented themselves with giving, as far as they were able, such a turn to the war, as might render it beneficial to themselves; and ever after assisted his Catholic majesty but coolly, and no farther than they were obliged by treaty.

It was afterwards converted into a reason for concluding a negociation, very favourable to their trade, with the Dutch, wherein, among other things, it was agreed, that, whatever advantages we should obtain from Spain, the Dutch should enjoy the like; which treaty, if it were ever intended should be fairly executed, would have been very injurious to us, because while we bore the whole burden of the war, it would have taken from us all hopes of recompense after a peace; since to share the Spanish trade with the Dutch by treaty, was very little better than agreeing to give it up to them in a short space of time.*

on the 29th of October, 1709. As to the treaty itself, the inquisitive reader may, if he pleases, consult Lamberti, vol. iv. p. 592.

* I have here attempted to explain the matter, as it appears to me, fairly, and naturally, by making part of the barrier treaty a consequence of the Dutch being acquainted with our secret treaty; though, perhaps, at the negociation of the barrier treaty, it might not be mentioned in direct terms. For the affairs of our ministry began then to be pretty much perplexed, and the natural consequence was, the

This secret negotiation had still farther consequences, since it gave the French an opportunity of suggesting, in a separate treaty, that article upon which the South-Sea company is founded, and without the assistance of which, the intelligent part of mankind know very well the peace of Utrecht could never have been made, or the public debts brought into that situation in which we now find them.* From these remarks on secret treaties, let us return now to the open operations of the war.

At the time that our fleets were every where superiour to those of the enemy, our trade suffered in almost all parts of the world, by their small squadrons of men-of-war, as well as privateers. This, though it fell heavily upon us, was a plain proof of the weakness of the French power; since it never can be conceived, that so haughty a prince as Lewis XIV. would have stooped to this piratical way of carrying on the war, if he could have maintained it in a manner more honourable.†

A.D.
1707.

Sir Thomas Hardy, who had commanded a squadron in the Soundings a year before, and who had this year been employed on the coast of Ireland, to protect the East India fleet, was, in the beginning of the month of July, ordered to escort the Lisbon trade. Sir Thomas, pursuant

considering their own support, more than the interest of the nation; which is the case with every declining ministry, and has been more fatal to us, than all the efforts of our enemies.

* In my last note, I have a little digressed in point of time, and therefore I must refer the reader for the versification of this fact, to what I shall be obliged hereafter to say, in respect of the causes and consequences of the treaty of Utrecht, in which I shall take particular notice of this article.

† This conduct of the French king, in the situation his affairs were then in, we must allow to be extremely prudent. He found, that fitting out great fleets was an expense he could not bear; that the allies were too strong for him at sea, and therefore it was requisite to employ ships in some other method, for his own service, and his subjects' advantage, which put him upon lending his men-of-war to such merchants as were willing to fit them out for privateers; and the squadrons of Forbin, and Guai Trouin, were equipped on this account.

to this order, sailed with the squadron under his command, and the outward-bound merchant-men. But being several times forced back by contrary winds, it was the 27th of August, 1707, before they got ninety-three leagues off the Lizard. About half an hour after two that afternoon, Captain Kirktown, in the *Defiance*, who was in the rear of the fleet, made the signal of seeing six sail, which being also seen about three, right a-stern from the mast-head of the *Kent*, Sir Thomas Hardy brought to for the rear, that were a great way off, and spread very much, to come up with the body of the fleet, consisting in all of above two hundred sail.*

Between three and four o'clock, Sir Thomas Hardy perceiving, that the six sail came up with him a-pace, notwithstanding it was little wind, and thereby judging they might be seekers, made the signal for the ships that were to continue with him, to chace to windward, and also chased himself with them, both to prevent these six sail from taking some of the heavy sailers, and to try to come up with them, in case they were enemies. About five, the six sail were seen from the *Kent's* deck, making all the sail they could before the wind after the fleet. Soon

* Sir Thomas's orders were dated the 2d of July, 1707, and by them he was directed to convoy all the outward-bound ships that were ready to sail, and see them safe about one hundred and twenty leagues beyond the Land's-end, and then to detach with them some men of war, under the command of Captain Kirktown; and himself, with the rest of the ships under his command, to cruize in such station, or stations, as should be thought, upon advising with the several captains with him, the most proper for meeting with, and protecting the homeward-bound Lisbon trade. This order further directed, that in case Sir Thomas Hardy should, in his passage from Spithead into the Soundings, get sight of the squadron of French ships, which had been lately seen off the Lizard, he was forthwith to detach Captain Kirktown from him on his voyage to Lisbon, as before directed; and he, with the rest of the ships under his command, to give chase to, and use his utmost endeavours to come up with, and take and destroy the said ships of the enemy; but if he found that he could not come up with them, he was to cruize in the Soundings, as before directed.

after they shortened sail, and brought to, to speak with one another; whereupon, Sir Thomas Hardy believing them to be the French squadron, mentioned in his orders, made the signal for the Lisbon fleet to part, while he, with his own squadron, continued to chace to windward the enemy, who had formed themselves in a line of battle. About six, the six sail bore away, and stood to the eastward of him, and he, with his squadron, tacked after them, and continued the chace till nearly seven o'clock; but then considering that it was almost night, that the six sail were then hauled to, and almost in the wind's eye, he saw no probability of coming up with, or keeping sight of them, there being little wind; therefore, he made the signal for the captains with him, to advise with them according to his orders. The result of this consultation, which was signed by fourteen captains, was, that Sir Thomas Hardy should leave off chace; and, lest the enemy, supposed to be Guai Trouin's squadron, of whose strength he was informed by a letter from the admiralty, dated the 8th of July, 1707, should pass by him in the night, and fall upon the trade, which could not be protected by the convoys directed to be left with them; all the captains unanimously agreed, that it was for her majesty's service, to bear away, and keep company with the Lisbon fleet, till they got one hundred and twenty leagues at least from the Land's-end, according to his royal highness's order.*

Sir Thomas Hardy complied with their advice, and saw all the fleet safe as far as he was directed. But, upon the complaint of some merchants, surmising that Sir Thomas Hardy had not chaced the six sail of French men-of-war, a court-martial was ordered to examine his conduct therein. This court, having sifted every circumstance of this affair, and heard the principal officers of

* Prince George, the husband of Queen Anne was, at that time, lord high admiral.

the squadron upon their oaths; declared their opinion to be, that Sir Thomas Hardy had complied with his royal highness the lord high-admiral's orders, both with regard to the chasing the enemy, and also to the protecting the trade; and accordingly, the court did acquit the said Sir Thomas Hardy, from the charge brought against him. There never was, perhaps, a more just sentence than this, or pronounced upon fuller evidence; and yet Sir Thomas Hardy had his conduct canvassed afterwards in every place where it was possible to call it in question; which, in spite of all the prejudices that prevailed at that time, turned very much to his advantage; for he not only escaped all censure, but continued to be employed, and acquired greater honour from the clearing up this charge, than he could have done by barely convoying the fleet, if no such accident had happened. *

Toward the latter end of April, a large fleet of ships bound for Portugal, and the West Indies, making in all A.D.
1707.

* The president of this council of war, was Sir John Leake, Knt. vice-admiral of the white. It was holden on board her majesty's ship the Albemarle, October 10, 1707, in Portsmouth harbour; and the captains who, with the president, signed his acquittal, were, Hoven-den Walker, Henry Lumley, Stephen Martin, T. Meads, Henry Gore, Charles Stewart, J. Paul. After this, the proceedings were laid before the queen in council, where all was heard over again, but nothing appeared which could in any way impeach the honour of Sir Thomas Hardy, or the officers who acquitted him; however, to oblige the merchants, the sentence was transmitted to the admiralty, and there it was examined before his royal highness the lord high-admiral, and the following flag-officers: Admiral Churchill, Sir Stafford Fairborne, Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, Sir John Norris, and Sir James Wishart, who all approved the sentence of the court-martial, and gave their opinion under their hands. One would have imagined that here the thing must have ended, but it did not; for as soon as the house of commons sat, a motion was made, that Sir Thomas Hardy should attend; which he did, and gave so clear an account of his conduct, that the very members who had promised to support the complaint, desired it might be dismissed.

a fleet of fifty-five sail, had a convoy appointed them, consisting of three men-of-war, the Royal Oak, of seventy-six guns, Captain Baron Wild, commander and commodore; the Grafton, of seventy guns, Captain Edward Acton; the Hampton-Court, of seventy guns, Captain George Clements. They sailed on the 1st of May, from the Downs, and fell in, on the 2d, with the Dunkirk squadron, commanded by M. Forbin, consisting of ten men-of-war, a frigate, and four privateers. The commodore drew five of the stoutest merchant-ships into the line, and fought bravely two hours and a half; but then, Captain Acton being killed, and his ship taken, and the Hampton-Court soon sharing the same fate, after having sunk the Salisbury, then in the hands of the French, by her side; the commodore thought proper to shift for himself as well as he could, which it was not very easy for him to do, as he was immediately attacked by three of the largest French men-of-war, and had eleven feet water in his hold. He disengaged himself, notwithstanding, and with great difficulty ran on shore near Dungeness, whence he soon got off, and brought his ship into the Downs. But while the men-of-war were thus engaged, the lightest of the enemy's frigates, and their privateers, took one and twenty of our merchant-ships, and carried them, with the two men-of-war, into Dunkirk.

The most extraordinary thing that happened in this engagement, was the conduct of a midshipman, on board the Hampton-Court, who, while the enemy were employed in plundering the ship, conveyed Captain Clements, mortally wounded in the belly, into the long-boat, into which himself, and seven of the sailors crept through the port-holes, and concealed themselves, as well as they could, under the thouls. The enemy, in the mean time, driving with the flood, when they thought themselves at a sufficient distance, they fell to their oars, and had the good

fortune to get into Rye harbour on the 3d of May.* This affair made a very great noise, the merchants affirming, that there was time enough for the admiralty to have acquainted Commodore Wild, that the Dunkirk squadron was at sea; which, in all probability, might have enabled him to have escaped this misfortune.†

The French, according to their usual custom, magnified their success excessively; for they asserted, that besides the three men-of-war, there was a frigate of forty guns sent to strengthen the convoy, and that the fleet of merchant-men consisted of fourscore sail, of which they took twenty-two, and made twelve hundred prisoners. In Forbin's memoirs, we have some very extraordinary circumstances; such as, that he engaged the commodore himself, and killed him with a musket-shot through a port-hole, while he was giving his orders sword in hand, between decks, and afterwards made himself master of his ship; in which, as we have seen, there is not one word of truth: and all that can be said in excuse of the French relation is, that Mr. Forbin mistook the Hampton-Court for the commodore.

All the French relations, however, do us the justice to own, that our captains behaved extremely well, and that their victory cost them very dear. The French king, as soon as he had advice of this engagement, promoted M. Forbin to the rank of chef d'escadre, and gave him like-

* See the London Gazette, No. 4329. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. xlii. p. 653, 654.

† These facts depend upon the representations made by the merchants to parliament, in the ensuing session, and the answer to that representation, by the council of the lord high-admiral, in his royal highness's name. It is, I think, not a little improbable, that the admiralty should have any treacherous design; but there is nothing more likely, than that some under officers of that board, might send copies of letters, orders for convoys, and such like papers, at the hazard of their necks; as the very same year Gregg did from the secretary's office, for which he suffered at Tyburn, and people very unjustly aspersed his master.

wise the title of count,* which he soon after merited by an extraordinary exploit, of which we are next to give an account.

A.D.
1707.

The Russia fleet being this year very numerous, and very richly laden, Sir Benjamin Ayloff, being then governor of the Russia company, and some other principal merchants, applied to the admiralty, in order to know what convoy they might expect, and particularly took notice of the apprehensions they were under, from the Dunkirk squadron; they were told, that they should have one fourth, and two fifth rates, with which they were very much dissatisfied. To make them in some measure easy, Sir William Whetstone had orders to convoy them beyond the island of Shetland.† Accordingly the fleet, consisting of about fifty merchant-men, sailed, and were actually convoyed, as far as his instructions directed, by Admiral Whetstone, who left them about three weeks before they were taken, to proceed on their voyage, under their proper convoy.

Some time after Captain Haddock, who commanded, made a signal of his seeing eleven sail of the enemy's ships, which some of the fleet not regarding, but trusting to their good sailing, fifteen of them fell into the enemy's hand, off the island of Kildine, on the coast of Lapland, on the 11th of July; and the rest of the fleet, consisting of about forty ships, with their convoy of three men-of-war, by the favour of a hard gale, and a thick fog, got

* *Histoire Militaire*, tom. v. p. 68. P. Daniel, p. 244. Forbin's *Memoirs*. In some of these relations, the number of prisoners is computed at eleven hundred, and the value of the prizes at five million livres, that is about two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling; which is a little incredible, considering they took so few ships; but, as the French had nothing to console them for their mighty losses, but these little advantages at sea, we need not at all wonder, that they took so much pains to magnify them.

† *London Gazette*, No. 4357. *Pointer's Chronological Historian*, vol. ii. p. 572. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. xliii. p. 330.

into Archangel. * The accounts we have of this affair are remarkably dark and embarrassed, which were calculated, probably, to justify the conduct of the prince's council, and Admiral Whetstone, who were much complained of; but the French accounts are clearer, though a little exaggerated.

According to them, M. Forbin sailed again from Dunkirk, on the last of May, with the same squadron; and on the 11th of July, perceiving the English fleet, he immediately fell in with them, and took nineteen sail; but being too far from any port of France, to think of carrying them in with safety, he first unloaded, and then burnt them. In the memoirs which go under his name, the matter is carried still farther; for he asserts, that he took twenty, of which he burnt fifteen: that, afterwards, he took four more, and when they got into the harbour of Kildine, he likewise took four, and burnt eighteen; but he agrees, that soon after he destroyed all his prizes, and computes the value of the goods he preserved to one million two hundred thousand livres.

I suspect there is some confusion and mistake in these accounts, because I find, that on the 1st of August fol-

* One Captain Nenyon, commander of the ship *Nenyon* and Benjamin, made oath before the house of lords, that, on or about the 9th of July, 1707, his ship, with eleven or twelve others, were unfortunately taken in their voyage to Archangel, by the Chevalier Forbin's squadron, consisting of seven French ships of war; that his ship was the first taken, and he was immediately carried on board Forbin, who demanded of him, what number of ships for convoy the English, bound for Archangel, had with them. He answered, twelve sail: to which Forbin replied, he spake what was false; for there were only three ships of war, convoy to the English fleet: Forbin then declaring, that he knew Admiral Whetstone, with his squadron, came no farther than the isle of Shetland, and then returned back again. This made a great noise, and the more so, because Admiral Whetstone was a man not beloved, and people were very desirous of fixing an imputation upon him, in order to get him laid aside; but it does not appear, that in this instance they carried their point.

lowing, he destroyed the Dutch homeward-bound fleet from Archangel; and as Father Daniel computes the ships taken, and burnt, in both enterprizes, at forty sail, I am inclined to think him nearer the truth than any of the rest.* On the return of the Dunkirk squadron, Count Forbin received orders to join that which had been fitted out from Brest, under the command of M. du Guai Trouin, which he accordingly did, on the 8th of October.

In the latter end of August, there was a great fleet ready for Lisbon, having on board provisions, military stores, and upwards of one thousand horses, for the king of Portugal's service. The merchants were extremely uneasy on the head of a convoy. They observed, that so many ships had been taken in performing the voyage to Portugal, that it not only affected the commerce, but the reputation of this kingdom, and obliged the Portuguese to send their orders for corn even against their will into Holland; for this reason, they earnestly insisted, that such a convoy might be given them, upon this occasion, as might effectually secure so great a fleet, for there were no fewer than one hundred and thirty merchant-men, and thereby recover our credit at Lisbon; and, in consequence of it, our corn trade, which had been in a great measure diverted into other hands for the two last years.†

These representations were by no means pleasing to the admiralty, where Admiral Churchill, the duke of Marl-

* *Histoire Militaire*, tom. v. p. 467. P. Daniel, p. 245. During the whole war, the maritime powers suffered excessively, in the Baltic, where, almost every year, the Dunkirk squadron made many prizes; and this, at last, determined the Dutch to keep a constant force in those seas, as long as the weather would permit, rightly judging, that no expense could be too great for the protection of their trade, and preserving their reputation as a maritime power.

† *History of Europe*, for the year 1707, p. 435. At this period the merchants were at open war with the admiralty; and as some admirals were disliked, and some of his royal highness's council naturally morose, there never wanted fuel enough for popular clamour.

borough's brother, commonly expressed the sense of his royal highness's council, and thereby drew on himself the displeasure of the merchants in the highest degree. He told them, upon this occasion, that they should be furnished with as speedy and as strong a convoy as could possibly be provided for them; yet it so fell out, that it was the 24th of September before this convoy was ready to sail. It consisted of the Cumberland, Captain Richard Edwards, of eighty guns; the Devonshire, of the same force; the Royal Oak, of seventy-six; the Chester and Ruby, each of fifty guns. But, to say the truth, the Chester and Ruby were, properly speaking, the convoy; for the other three ships were only to see the ships fifty leagues beyond Scilly. The fleet did not sail till the 9th of October, and on the 10th, they fell in with the joint fleet of Count Forbin and M. du Guai Trouin, off the Lizard. *

The French were at least twelve sail of line-of-battle ships. The convoy disposed themselves in a line, and thereby gave the merchant ships an opportunity of escaping. M. Du Guai attacked the Cumberland, about twelve at noon, and with the assistance of two other ships, after an obstinate dispute, carried her; the Devonshire defended herself, for a long time, against seven, and till evening against five French ships; but then, by some accident, which will remain for ever unknown, took fire, and blew up; two only, out of nine hundred men, escaped; the Royal Oak made a vigorous resistance, and having set on fire the French ship commanded by M. de Bearnois, which attacked her, got safe into Kinsale harbour; the Count De Forbin took the Chester, and Messieurs De Courserat and De Nesmond took the Ruby. As for the Lisbon fleet, they very prudently saved themselves during the engagement; but the French made a prodigious boast

* *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. xlii. p. 356, 557.

of the men-of-war they had taken, though the dispute was so very unequal, and though in effect the convoy did all that could be expected from them, by securing the merchants at their own expense. *

It is certain, that misfortunes like these are great enough in themselves; and, therefore, there is no need of exaggerating them, either at the time they happen, or in such works as are written on subjects which oblige their authors to transmit accounts of them to posterity. Yet, something of this sort there seems to be, in the following passage from Bishop Burnet, † which I transcribe in his own words, and at large, that I may not be suspected of partiality. “ A convoy of five ships of the line of battle, “ was sent to Portugal, to guard a great fleet of merchant “ ships, and they were ordered to sail, as if it had been “ by concert, at a time when a squadron from Dunkirk “ had joined another from Brest, and lay in the way “ waiting for them. Some advertisements were brought “ to the admiralty of this conjunction; but they were not “ believed. When the French set upon them, the convoy “ did their part very gallantly, though the enemy were “ three to one; one of the ships was blown up, three of “ them were taken, so that only one of them escaped, “ much shattered. But they had fought so long, that

* See the History of Europe, for the year 1707. *Columna Rostrata*, p. 283. *Pointer's Chronological Historian*, vol. ii. p. 573. *London Gazette*, No. 4380. Also No. 4381, where, in an article from Lisbon, dated October 31. N. S. it is said, “ Twenty sail of British “ merchant-men are already in this port, and as many more appear “ coming in at the bar, all belonging to the fleet under the late com- “ voy of Commodore Edwards, they attribute their safety to the “ bravery of their convoy, and particularly of the Devonshire, which “ maintained a running fight, against five men-of-war till the dusk of “ the evening, by favour of which, most of the transports and “ trading ships made their escape. There are already come in about “ six hundred of the horse designed for the service of his Portuguese “ majesty.”

† History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 488.

“ most of the merchant-men had time to get away, and
“ sailed on, not being pursued, and so got safe to
“ Lisbon.”

In order to demonstrate the absolute injustice of this suggestion, I shall only observe, that it appears from all the French writers, that the junction of the Dunkirk and Brest squadron happened in the afternoon of the 8th; that the Lisbon fleet sailed from Plymouth on the 9th, and that the engagement happened on the 10th, before noon; so that any intelligence could be given to the admiralty, of the junction of the French squadrons, time enough to have prevented this unlucky accident, is a thing, that, to every candid reader, even at this distance of time, must appear perfectly incredible. *

But, in the midst of so many discouragements, the nation was not altogether deprived of good fortune, even in respect of these little disputes; for at the very close of the year, Captain Haddock, in her majesty's ship the *Ludlow Castle*, got sight, off the long sand, of two frigates, which proved to be the *Nightingale* and *Squirrel*, formerly her majesty's ships, but taken by the French, and now fitted out from Dunkirk, as privateers, and each of them having as many men as the *Ludlow Castle*. They both lay by, till he came within gun-shot of them; but then made sail from him before the wind. At eleven at night, he came up with the *Nightingale*, and took her, and as soon as the captain of the *Squirrel* perceived it, he crowded sail and stood away. The captain of the *Nightingale* was one Thomas Smith, who had formerly commanded a sloop in her majesty's service, and was broken at a court-martial for irregular practices: Captain Haddock, afterwards an admiral, and who since commanded

* The Marquis De Quincy, Father Daniel, and M. Forbin, in his memoirs, all agree as to these dates; so that it is impossible they should be wrong; and it is, consequently, as impossible that our prelate's suspicion should be right.

the squadron in the Mediterranean, carried in his prize to Hull, whence he thought fit to send up all the English who were on board the *Nightingale*, viz. Captain Thomas Smith, who commanded the ship; Charles Aislaby, lieutenant; Mr. Harwood, who acted as a midshipman; an Irish priest, and an English sailor, who were immediately committed close prisoners for high treason, and a prosecution, by the attorney-general, directed against them.*

About the same time, arrived the welcome news of our success in Newfoundland, where Captain John Underdown, commander of her majesty's ship the *Falkland*, having received advice on the 25th of July, that the enemy had many ships employed in the fishery, in several harbours to the northward, our commanders of ships, merchants, and inhabitants, petitioned him to endeavour the destroying of them, and by that means to encourage and protect the British trade in those places. In pursuance of which representations, on the 26th of July, Captain Underdown set sail from St. John's, having taken Major Lloyd, who desired to be employed in the expedition, with twenty of his company, on board the *Falkland*, and twenty more of the same company, on board the *Nonsuch*. On the 27th, they came before Bonavis, and finding there no appearance of an enemy, the commodore ordered Captain Hughes upon that station, to sail with him.

On the 2d of August, they stood into the bay of *Blanche*, till they came off *Fleur-de-lis* harbour. Major Lloyd was immediately sent into the harbour in the commodore's pinnace, and the lieutenant of the *Falkland*, in

* The making examples of these sort of men, is a thing of absolute necessity in time of war; and I very much doubt, whether it is not a false kind of pity, ever to let them escape. This Smith, and one Captain Rigby, who fled from hence for an infamous crime, did us prodigious mischief, by their serving the French during that war; and yet, when Rigby was taken, he was suffered to get away.

the pinnacle, belonging to the *Nonsuch*, in order to make what discoveries they were able. They found there were several stages, and other necessities for the fisheries, to which they set fire, and afterwards they returned without any loss, sustained, on board the men-of-war. By six the next morning they doubled the cape, and saw a ship, which, upon the brisk exchange of a few shot, struck; the commodore sent his boats aboard, and found her to be from St. Malo, carrying about three hundred and sixty tons, thirty guns, and one hundred and ten men, called the *Duke of Orleans*. In another arm of the bay, named *Equilette*, was another large ship; but the place being rocky, and the water shallow, it was impossible for either the *Falkland* or *Nonsuch* to come near her; whereupon, the *Medway's* prize was ordered to go as close in as she could, with safety; and, at the same time, Captain Carleton, Major Lloyd, and the lieutenant of the *Falkland*, in boats well manned and armed, were directed to land upon the island under which she lay. This was executed with so good effect, that the enemy, after having fired several broadsides, being no longer able to keep the deck, against our small shot from the shore, struck. This ship was of the force of twenty guns, and four-score men, belonging also to St. Malo. Having here received information, that about three leagues to the northward, in *La Couche*, there were two ships, one of thirty-two guns, and the other of twenty-six, both of St. Malo; the commodore gave Captain Hughes directions to burn the last prize, and afterwards to join him at *La Couche*, himself in the *Falkland*, with the *Nonsuch* making the best of their way thither.

The 5th, in the afternoon, they came into *La Couche*, where they found the two ships in readiness for sailing. The enemy fired several broadsides at them, which, as soon as our men-of-war returned, they set their ships on fire, and left them, going over to the next harbour, called

Carouse, in which, the commodore had received intelligence, there were four ships. He immediately weighed, and stood for that harbour, and about eight o'clock at night was joined by the Medway's prize; but there being very little wind at S. W. and much difficulty in getting out, it was about six the next morning, before he got off the harbour's mouth. The commodore sent in his boat, but found the enemy had escaped, having by the advantage of little wind, and the great number of men and boats, cut and towed out. The British ships stood to the northward, and saw several vessels, to which they gave chase; about five in the afternoon they came off the harbour of St. Julian, where they discovered a ship, and having lost sight of the vessels they had pursued, stood in for the harbour, and came to an anchor in twenty-six fathom water. The place where the ship was hauled in, being very narrow and shoally, the commodore ordered the Medway's prize to go as near as possibly she could. The enemy fired two guns, but it was not thought fit to attack her till the morning. Accordingly, the 6th of August, at four of the clock, Captain Carleton, Major Lloyd, and Lieutenant Eagle, went in, with all their boats well manned and armed, and immediately landing, drove the enemy from their posts, who were likewise on shore. Our men took their boats, and went aboard their ship, where they found the enemy had laid several trains of powder, in order to blow her up; which being seasonably discovered, she was preserved, and by noon they towed her out to sea. But the British pilots being unacquainted with the coast, and the commodore thinking it not proper to go farther to the northward, it was resolved to sail back to Carouse, and there remain till they were joined by the Duke of Orleans prize, which was left at Grand Canarie, with a lieutenant and sixty men.

In the way to Carouse, it was thought fit to look into Petit Maistre, where they destroyed great numbers of

boats and stages, with vast quantities of fish and oil; about seven at night, they came to an anchor in Carouse harbour, and moored. On the 12th and 13th, it blew a hard gale at S.W. Having destroyed the fishery at Petit Maistre, and the Duke of Orleans prize being come to La Couche, on the 14th, by four in the morning, they weighed and stood out to sea, taking her with them, and steering for St. John's harbour, where the Falkland and Nonsuch, with two prizes, arrived the 17th of the same month, having before given the Medway's prize orders to sail to Trinity. *

We ought now, according to the method that has been generally observed, to speak of the proceedings in the West Indies; but, as what was done there this year, is so strictly connected with what happened in the following, that it is scarcely possible to divide them, without destroying the perspicuity of both relations; I shall defer saying any thing of the events that fell out in that part of the world, till I come to speak of them in their proper place; that is, after having accounted for the naval proceedings in the succeeding year. I the rather incline to make this small breach in my usual method, because I am under a necessity of speaking more largely than in other places, of what was done in parliament this year, in reference to the navy, for this weighty reason, *viz.* that the strict enquiries made by both houses into matters of such conse-

* The damage the enemy received, was as follows. Two ships taken, one of thirty guns, and one hundred and ten men; and another of twenty guns, and one hundred men; one ship taken and burnt, of twenty guns, and eighty men. Two ships burnt by the enemy, one of thirty-two, and another of twenty-six guns; two hundred and twenty-eight fishing-boats burnt; four hundred and seventy boats and shallops, that were not employed in the fishery this season, burnt; twenty-three stages burnt; twenty-three train vats burnt; seventy-seven thousand two hundred and eighty quintals of fish destroyed; fifteen hundred sixty-eight hogsheds of train oil destroyed.

quence, not only demonstrate the vigour of our constitution at that time, but afford, perhaps, the very best precedents for reviving such enquiries, that are to be met with in our history.

The first parliament of GREAT BRITAIN, met upon the 23d of October, when the eyes not only of this kingdom, but of all Europe, were fixed upon them. The earliest thing they did was, to make choice of John Smith, Esq. for their speaker; and the next, in the house of commons, was, to vote an address of thanks to the queen, for her most gracious speech made to them on the 6th of November, to which day they had adjourned.* In the house of lords it went otherwise; instead of their usual address, their lordships proceeded to a direct consideration of the state of the kingdom, in which very warm debates arose, in regard to the navy especially. As to this, it was affirmed, "That the lord high-admiral's name was abused
" by such as were entrusted with the management of his
" authority; that the council of his royal highness studied
" nothing but how to render their places profitable to
" themselves and their creatures, though at the expense of
" the nation; that it was visible, their own haughtiness,
" together with the treachery, corruption, and carelessness
" of their dependents, were the true sources of those
" mischiefs which befel our merchants, and discredited
" the most glorious reign in the British annals. But,
" though reason and experience ought to have convinced
" these men of their own incapacity, yet they had, with a
" brutish obstinacy, persisted in the pursuit of their own
" measures, haughtily rejecting the advice of the merchants, when offered in time, and saucily contemning

* Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 394. Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, p. 308. The Complete History of Europe, for 1707, p. 395.

“ their complaints, when sufferers by the very errors they
“ had predicted.” *

This produced the appointing of a committee, in which this matter might be resumed, upon the 19th of December, at which her majesty was present. The sheriffs of London, who were Benjamin Green, Esq. and Sir Charles Peers, Knt. presented a petition, signed by two hundred of the most eminent merchants of the city of London, setting forth the great losses they had lately sustained at sea, for want of convoys and cruizers; and praying, that some remedy might be speedily applied, that the trade of the nation might not be entirely destroyed. †

The house went as heartily into this matter as the sufferers could desire, and appointed the 28th to hear the merchants further, in a grand committee, where they were permitted to make a regular charge, and encouraged to exhibit their evidence. In the course of this enquiry, it fully appeared to their lordships, that many ships of war were not fitted out to sea, but lay in port neglected, and in great decay; that convoys often had been flatly denied the merchants, and that, when they were promised, they were so long delayed, that the merchants lost their markets, were put to great charges, and, where they had perishable goods, suffered great damage in them. The cruizers were not ordered to proper stations in the channel; and, when convoys were appointed, and ready to put

* Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 289. Oldmixon. Annals of Queen Anne. Chandler's Debates, vol. ii. p. 180, 183.

† It is easy to discern, from the scope of this petition, and the support it met with, that public spirit flourished during this reign. It was not pretended, that any respect due to the crown should protect such as were bad servants; or, that attacking them, was offending majesty. It was not said, that exposing them reflected on his royal highness, or that in a time of war, we ought to be silent on such subjects; but it was said, produce your facts, make good the charge, and we will procure you justice.

to sea, they had not their sailing orders sent them till the privateer squadrons of the enemy were laid in their way, and with superiour force prepared to fall on them ; which had often happened.

Many advertisements, by which these misfortunes might have been prevented, had been offered to the admiralty ; but had not only been neglected by them, but those who offered them, had been ill treated for doing it. To carry these things as far as possible, they caused an exact report to be drawn of their proceedings ; sent it to the admiralty-office ; received the best answer that could be given from thence ; heard the merchants by way of reply to this, digested the whole into a second report, and, together with an address suitable to a matter of such mighty consequence, laid it before her majesty, on the 1st of March, 1707, and expressed themselves thereupon, in terms it would be extremely injurious to deprive the reader of the pleasure of reading, considering the strict connection it has with the subject of this work, the true spirit of patriotism that appears therein, and the excellent example afforded thereby ; and therefore I have placed it at the bottom of the page. * Her majesty received this address very gra-

* I shall here cite only their lordships' conclusion, after setting forth the grievances complained of by the merchants, the answer by the admiralty, and the merchants' replication.

“ May it please your majesty,

“ We having thus performed, what we take ourselves to be indispensably obliged to, cannot doubt but it will be graciously accepted by your majesty, as coming from most dutiful subjects, who sincerely wish they may never have occasion hereafter to make addresses to your majesty, but to congratulate your successes, or to return humble acknowledgements for the blessings of your reign.

“ We beseech your majesty to believe, that none of your subjects do exceed us in true respect to his royal highness the lord high-admiral. His great personal virtues require it, and his near relation to your majesty makes it our duty. And as we do not mean that any thing in this address should in the least reflect upon him : so

ciously, and promised to pay all the regard thereto, that the nature of the thing, and the respect due to the advice of the hereditary council of her kingdoms deserved.

The house of commons also went into a grand committee, on the affairs of the navy, of which Sir Richard Onslow was chairman; they heard with great attention all that the merchants had to say, and carefully examined all the evidence they could produce; and though there

“ we are very well assured, his royal highness will never suffer other persons to protect themselves under his name, from a just pursuit of such faults or neglects, as immediately tend to the ruin of trade, and the destruction of Britain.

“ There cannot be a plainer proof, that some persons employed by the lord high-admiral, have made the worst use imaginable of the trust he honours them with, than in their presuming to lay such an answer before the house of lords in his name.

“ For, (not to take notice of the many things which in the second report have been already laid before your majesty,) throughout the whole paper, there is not the least hope given, that for the future any better care shall be taken of the trade; on the contrary, the whole turn of the answer seems to be intended, for exposing the complaints of the merchants, rather than pitying their losses. We are sure, nothing can be more remote from the goodness and compassion of the lord high-admiral's temper, and the tender regard he has always shewn, for your majesty's subjects.

“ May it please your majesty,

“ It is a most undoubted maxim, that the honour, security, and wealth of this kingdom, do depend upon the protection and encouragement of trade, and the improving, and right managing its naval strength. Other nations, who were formerly great and powerful at sea, have, by negligence and mismanagement, lost their trade, and have seen their maritime power entirely ruined. Therefore, we do in the most earnest manner beseech your majesty, that the sea affairs may always be your first, and most peculiar care. We humbly hope, that it shall be your majesty's chief and constant instruction, to all who shall have the honour to be employed in your councils, and in the administration of affairs, that they be continually intent and watchful in what concerns the trade and fleet; and that every one of them may be made to know, it is his particular charge to take care that the seamen be encouraged, the trade protected, discipline restored, and a new spirit and vigour put into the whole administration of the navy.”

were some people who endeavoured to stop the mouths of the merchants, when they ran out into invidious characters of those officers by whom they thought themselves wronged, yet the majority of the house were inclined to hear their sentiments, and encouraged them to go on. Both lords and commons concurred in carrying to the throne, such complaints as appeared to be well founded; and with this view their lordships, on the 7th of February, addressed the queen to lay aside Captain Ker; * and

* The house of lords, in their address, inform her majesty, that a complaint had been lodged before them, by Mr. Thomas Wood, in behalf of himself and divers other Jamaica merchants, against Captain William Ker, late commander of a squadron of her majesty's ships at that island, for refusing to grant convoys for their ships to the Spanish coast of America; and in particular, that the said Mr. Thomas Wood had offered to the said Captain Ker, the sum of six hundred pounds as a gratuity, if he would order one of her majesty's men-of-war, under his command, to go as convoy to the Neptune sloop, and Martha galley, laden with woollen and other goods of her majesty's subjects. That the said Captain Ker, at that time, seemed pleased with the proposal, and said, the Windsor should be the ship; and ordered Mr. Wood to make what despatch he could, in getting the galley and sloop ready. On which encouragement, he got them ready to sail, and bought three hundred negroes to put on board them, and then acquainted Captain Ker therewith, and with the great charge he was at in maintaining the negroes, and his fear of sickness. Captain Ker then said, he feared he could not spare a man of war; but the next day sent Mr. Tudor Trevor, captain of the Windsor, to acquaint Mr. Wood, that Captain Ker said, he thought Mr. Wood could not have offered less than two thousand, or at least fifteen hundred pounds. Whereupon Mr. Wood declared, the sum was so great, that the trade could not bear it, and so the sloop and galley proceeded on the voyage without convoy; and in their return the sloop, loaded with great wealth, being pursued by French privateers, and having no convoy, and crowding too much sail to get from the enemy, was unhappily overset and lost. The said Mr. Thomas Wood also made another complaint, that upon a further application to the said Mr. Ker, for a convoy for three sloops, bound for the said Spanish coasts, he promised to give the Experiment man-of-war, commanded by Captain Bowler, as a convoy; for which the said Mr. Wood agreed to give eight hundred pounds; four hundred pounds, part whereof, was paid the said Bowler, and the other four hundred

on the 26th of the same month, the house of commons presented an address of the same nature, against the same person. *

These warm proceedings had a proper effect; they convinced such as sat at the admiralty-board, that it was dangerous to treat British merchants with contempt; as, on the other hand, it taught the officers to know, that having friends at the board, or being tried, where no evidence could reach them, would not always secure them from punishment. † On the complaint of the merchants, how-

pounds was made payable by note to one Mr. Herbert, for the use of Mr. Ker, which note was sent in a letter to Mr. Ker, and by him put into Mr. Herbert's hands. And, besides that, as a farther encouragement for allowing the said convoy, Mr. Ker had an adventure of fifteen hundred pounds in the said sloops, without advancing any money. To this complaint Mr. Ker, put in his answer, and both parties were fully heard by themselves, and their witnesses; and upon the whole matter, the house came to this following resolution: "That the said complaint of the said Mr. Wood, against the said Captain Ker, as well in relation to the Neptune and Martha galley, as also in relation to the other three sloops, that went under the convoy of the Experiment man-of-war, hath been fully made out, and proved to the satisfaction of this house."

The queen gave only a general answer to this address, but did not say positively that she would comply with it.

* On the 26th of February, upon the report of Sir Richard Onslow, from the committee of the whole house, the commons came to three resolutions, against Commodore Ker; to which they added a fourth, *viz.* "That an humble address be presented to her majesty, lying before her the said resolutions, and humbly desiring, that her majesty will be pleased not to employ the said Captain Ker in her majesty's service for the future." This address having been presented to the queen, ten days after her majesty declared, that she would comply with it.

† Upon a fair computation, made about this time, of the loss of ships at sea, since the beginning of this war, it was found, that the loss the French had sustained in their shipping, far exceeded that of Great Britain, since we had only thirty men-of-war taken, or destroyed, and one thousand one hundred forty-six merchant ships taken, of which three hundred were re-taken. Whereas, we had either taken or destroyed, eighty of their ships of war, and taken or

ever, against Sir Thomas Hardy, though prosecuted with great heat, both houses concurred to vindicate him, which was sufficient to encourage the officers of the navy to do their duty; since, where they could prove they had done this, it was most clear they ran no hazard; but, if pursued by clamour, were sure to come off with reputation. *

As the season for action was now coming on, the lord high-admiral made the following promotions: Sir John Leake was declared admiral of the white, and admiral and commander-in-chief of her majesty's fleet; Sir George Byng, admiral of the blue; Sir John Jennings, vice-admiral of the red; Sir John Norris, vice-admiral of the white; the Lord Dursley, vice-admiral of the blue; Sir Edward Whitaker, rear-admiral of the red; and John

burnt one thousand three hundred forty-six of their merchantmen, including those destroyed in the West Indies. By way of supplement to this list, it may not be amiss to take notice, that it appeared from the lord high-admiral's answer to the report of the house of peers, there were one hundred and seventy-five of the enemy's privateers taken, as also the re-captures by her majesty's ships of war, from the 4th of May, 1702, to the 1st of December, 1707, were one hundred and twenty-eight; which amounted, by appraisement, to above the sum of eighty-two thousand nine hundred and seventy-five pounds, and the re-captures by privateers, within that time, to thirty-eight thousand and fifty-four pounds, both which sums amounted to one hundred and twenty-one thousand and thirty pounds, exclusive of customs.

* Upon a complaint to the house of lords, of a master of a Canary ship, that Sir Thomas Hardy had refused to convoy him from Plymouth, their lordships ordered Sir Thomas to attend the house, who directed them to attend the committee. The latter took occasion to examine, likewise, the papers relating to his trial; and after they had read them, the next day Sir Thomas Hardy, with two merchants, and the master of the Canary ship, were called in before their lordships; Sir Thomas having shewed his orders, to warrant his refusal of convoy, he was ordered to withdraw; and soon after Captain Philips, deputy usher of the black rod, came out to Sir Thomas, and told him, that their lordships found, he had fully justified himself, and done his duty in every respect; and therefore that he was discharged from any further attendance upon that committee.

Baker, Esq. rear-admiral of the white.* Some alterations were likewise made in his royal highness's council. †

An act passed for regulating convoys, and cruizers; and a further term of fourteen years and a half was granted to the East India Company, in consideration of their advancing one million two hundred thousand pounds for the public service, there being granted in the whole, for the year 1708, no less than five millions nine hundred thirty-three thousand six hundred and fifty-seven pounds, seventeen shillings and four-pence, a supply unheard of in former times, and for a great part of which we stand indebted to this day. Of this, upwards of two millions three hundred thousand pounds were intended for the service of the fleet, and great things were expected, especially since all parts of the island seemed heartily united in one interest; and the carrying on the war, humbling France, and exalting the house of Austria, were every where considered as the great objects of our care; ‡ as being essentially necessary to the welfare of the nation.

But, before our projects were thoroughly adjusted, the French actually played off one of theirs; which put us into great confusion, and had like to have had much worse consequences. This was, the attempt upon Scotland, in favour of the Chevalier de St. George; which was the *Nomme de Guerre* they were pleased to give the person,

A.D.
1708.

* London Gazette, No. 4405. The Complete History of Europe, for 1708, p. 5.

† Henry Saint John, Esq. afterwards Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, having resigned the office of secretary-of-war, Robert Walpole, Esq. afterwards earl of Orford, and then one of the prince's council, succeeded him; and in the month of April following, the earl of Weemys, a nobleman of Scotland, and Sir John Leake, were added to his royal highness's council, in order to oblige both nations. Pointer's Chronological Historian, vol. ii. p. 591. Oldmixon, vol. ii. p. 400.

‡ Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 396. Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, p. 316. Chandler's Debates, vol. iii.

whom the queen soon after distinguished by the name of the Pretender. * The design is said to have been carried on with great secrecy; but this must be understood only of the French court; for it was sufficiently known, and talked of in Scotland, long before it was undertaken. † I do not think, that so idle an expedition demands, in a work of this nature, a very critical explanation, and therefore, I shall content myself with saying, that it ought to be reckoned among the number of those affronts, of which the French have never been sparing to this nation, and was chiefly designed to shew how much, in spite of all the power of the allies, Lewis XIV. was able to alarm and distract us.

The troops, intended for this attempt, were about eleven or twelve battalions, under the command of the Marquis de Gace, afterwards styled the Marshal de Matignon. The fleet consisted of but eight men-of-war, which was commanded by the Count de Forbin, who is said to have disliked the design, because, very probably, he knew the bottom of it; for it is very certain, the French never intended to land, and refused the chevalier to set him on shore, though he would have gone with his own servants. The true scheme of the French king was, to create a diversion, and, if possible, raise a rebellion in Scotland, that, by means of trials and executions, the queen and her ministry might be sufficiently embarrassed at home, and have the less leisure to prosecute their views abroad; and, from these motives, he ordered his ministers in all foreign courts to talk in very magnificent terms, of the succours he gave to the king of England, as he thought fit to call him, that, on the rebound, they might make the louder

§ See the Proclamation in the London Gazette, No. 4416, as also the Queen's Speech to both Houses, March 11, 1707-8, in the Gazette, No. 4418.

* Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 499. Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 402. Boyer's Life of Queen Anne.

noise in Britain, and induce us to believe our danger the greater, and more inevitable.

In this respect, the French politics had their effect; for, on General Cadogan's sending over an express, disclosing the whole design, the queen, by Mr. Secretary Boyle, acquainted the house of commons therewith, on the 4th of March, and received a very loyal address from them, as well as from the lords; † but the apprehensions expressed here, and in Holland, had such an effect upon the monied interest, that it occasioned a prodigious run upon the bank, and disturbed our foreign remittances so much, that all thinking people were at this time convinced of the great risk a nation runs, that engages in a foreign war, while heavily loaded with debts at home. Our public securities fell surprizingly, and things would have fallen into downright confusion, if the fight had not been quickly over.

This was owing to the care of the admiralty, who, with remarkable diligence, fitted out a fleet of twenty-four men-of-war, ‡ with which Sir George Byng and Lord Dursley sailed for the French coast, on the 27th of February, without diminishing the convoy of the Lisbon fleet; which, when we had time to consider it, appeared prodigious, and sufficiently convinced the French, that a real invasion was not at all their business.§ On Sir

* Quincy *Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV.* tom. v. p. 478. Lamberti, tom. v. p. 17. *Memoires de l'orbin*, which appears from this part of them to be spurious.

† The Complete History of Europe, for 1708, p. 124. Boyer's *Life of Queen Anne*, p. 324.

‡ Burnet's *History of his own Times*, vol. ii. p. 500. Boyer's *Life of Queen Anne*, p. 326. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. xlv. p. 333.

§ The run upon the bank so much alarmed the exchequer, that all ways and means possible were concerted, to put an immediate stop to it; in order to which, the lord high-treasurer not only allowed six, instead of three *per cent.* for all the money circulating by their bills, but also supplied them with large sums of money out of his private

'George Byng's anchoring before Gravelines, the French officers laid aside their embarkation; but, upon express orders from court, were obliged to resume it, and on the 6th of March actually sailed out of Dunkirk; being, however, taken short by contrary winds, they came to an anchor till the 8th, and then continued their voyage for Scotland. *

Sir George Byng pursued them with a fleet of forty ships of the line, besides frigates and fire-ships. He afterwards detached Rear-admiral Baker, with a small squadron, to convoy the troops that were sent from Ostend, and prosecute his expedition with the rest. † On the 13th of March, the French were discovered in the Frith of Edinburgh, where they made signals, but to no purpose, and then steered a N. E. course, as if they intended to have gone to St. Andrews. Sir George Byng followed them, and took the Salisbury, an English prize, then in their service, with several persons of quality on board. Finding it was altogether impossible to come up with the enemy, he returned with the fleet to Leith, where he continued till he received advice of Count Forbin's getting back to Dunkirk, and then proceeded to the Downs, pursuant to the orders he received from the ministry; whence he soon came to London, where he was most

fortune, as the dukes of Marlborough, Newcastle, Somerset, and other noblemen also did; which, with the calling in of twenty *per cent.* upon their capital, brought all things right again sooner than it could have been expected. On the 20th of March the house of commons came to a resolution, that whoever designedly endeavoured to destroy, or lessen the public credit, especially at a time when the kingdom was threatened with an invasion, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour, and was an enemy to her majesty and her kingdoms.

* Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. The Complete History of Europe, for 1708, p. 180. See the Marshall Matignon's Letter to Monsieur Chamillard, the Secretary of State, dated Dunkirk, April 7th, in Lamberti, tom. v. p. 24.

† Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 500. See the London Gazette, No. 4418.

graciously received by the queen his sovereign, and by his royal highness Prince George of Denmark. *

One would have imagined, that this apparent success must have satisfied every body; and that, after defeating so extraordinary a scheme, as at that time this was allowed to be, and restoring public credit, as it were, in an instant, there should have been an universal tribute of applause paid to the admiral, by all degrees of people. Yet, this was so far from falling out, that Sir George Byng had scarcely set his foot in London, before it was whispered, that the parliament would inquire into his conduct; which took rise from a very foolish persuasion, that having once had sight of the enemy's fleet, he might, if he pleased, have taken every ship as well as the Salisbury. †

The truth of the matter was, that the French having amused the Jacobites in Scotland, with a proposal about besieging the castle of Edinburgh, Sir George Byng was particularly instructed to use all means for preventing that, by hindering the French from landing in the neighbourhood. This he effectually did, and, by doing it, answered the principle end for which he was sent. But the same malicious people, who first propagated this story, invented also another, *viz.* that Sir George was hindered from taking the French fleet, by his ships being foul; which actually produced an inquiry in the house of commons, and an address to the queen, to direct, that an account might be laid before them of the number of ships

* The Salisbury prize was a very considerable thing, if we consider the number of persons taken on board. For, besides Lord Griffin, Lord Clermont, Charles Middleton, and Francis Wauchope, Esqrs. who had all followed the fortunes of King James; there were likewise several land and sea-officers in the French service, of very great distinction, five companies of the regiment of Bearn, and all the ship's company, consisting of three hundred men. London Gazette, No. 4420.

† Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 407. Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, p. 331. The Complete History of Europe, for 1708. p. 174.

that went on the expedition with Sir George Byng, and when the same were cleaned. * That done, they resolved that the thanks of the house should be given to the prince, as lord high-admiral, for his great care in expeditiously setting forth so great a number of ships, whereby the fleet under Sir George Byng was enabled, happily, to prevent the intended invasion.

This was a very wise and well-concerted measure, since it fully satisfied the world of the falsehood of those reports; and, at the same time, gave great satisfaction to the queen, and her royal consort, the prince of Denmark, who had both testified an unusual concern in relation to the report of the house of lords, which they conceived affected his royal highness's character, as lord high-admiral; and therefore, to give this message of thanks a better grace, and make it more acceptable, the utmost care was taken in the choice of those who were appointed to carry it. †

Thus ended this affair of the invasion, which made so much noise at that time, and which has been handed down in so many different lights to posterity. An affair, indeed, which speaks the true policy of France, and shews how artfully she can serve her own ends, and with how great readiness she betrays, and gives up to destruction, such as are simple enough to trust her. But, through the wisdom of the British ministry, joined to the cunning of some of the nobility of Scotland, who were taken into custody upon this occasion, and who, it is generally thought, gave

* Chandler's Debates, vol. iii. p. 95.

† The names of the persons appointed to carry his royal highness the message, were Sir Richard Onslow, Mr. Secretary Boyle, Mr. Compton, Mr. Scobel, Colonel Bierly, Lord William Paulet, the earl of Hertford, Mr. Heysham, Admiral Churchill, Mr. Bromley, Sir Godfrey Copley, Sir Thomas Hanmer, Sir Thomas Lyttleton, Sir David Dalrymple, Mr. Montgomery, Mr. Morrison, Mr. Brewer, Sir John Swinton, Sir John Erskine, Mr. Halden, Mr. Cockburne, Sir John Holland, and Mr. Wortley.

such lights as enabled the government to take these effectual methods; the latter part of the French scheme proved as abortive as the first; all the prisoners being soon after set at liberty, and every thing being done to satisfy and quiet the people of that country.*

The great point the ministry had in view this year, was, to put the affairs of his Catholic majesty into better order, and to repair, as fast as it was possible, the many unlucky consequences of the fatal battle of Almanza. Sir John Leake, who commanded the grand fleet, was at sea so early, that on the 27th of March he arrived at Lisbon; having, in his way thither, seen the merchant ships bound to Virginia, and the Canaries, with their respective convoys, well into the sea, and taken care for the security of others designed to the ports of Portugal.† Here he found the ships that had been left with Captain Hickes, which were fourteen of the third-rate, besides small frigates, and bomb-vessels; and at a council of war it was resolved, that, as soon as the transports were ready to receive the horse on board, the fleet should proceed to Vado; and that such of the ships of war as could not be gotten ready by that time, should follow to Barcelona, where there would be orders left how they should farther proceed. But, as for the Dutch ships, they were all separated in bad weather, between England and Lisbon. It was also determined, at the desire of the king of Portugal, to appoint the Warspight, Rupert, and Triton, to cruize off the Tercera, or Azores islands, for the security of his majesty's fleet expected from Brazil; nor was there any

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* It is evident from the French writers, that they are as much divided in their sentiments, and consequently as much in the dark as we are. Marshal Matignon's letter shews plainly, it was, on the side of France, a mere temporary diversion. Those who were suspected to have invited it were insincere, and the persons embarked, were the dupes of friends and foes.

† Burchet's *Naval History*, p. 749. Burnet's *History of his own Times*, vol. ii. p. 504. *London Gazette*, No. 4411. also No. 4424.

care omitted to guard the Straits mouth, lest otherwise our trade should suffer by the enemy's cruizers or privateers.* The procuring transport ships, and putting them in a condition for receiving the horse, took up a considerable time; but, on the 23d of April, the admiral was ready to sail with as many as could carry fifteen hundred, with one second-rate, twelve third-rates, two fourths, a fire-ship, bomb-vessels, &c. together with twelve ships of the line-of-battle of the States-general; and, upon advice from Colonel Elliot, governor of Gibraltar, and from other hands, that some French ships of war were seen cruising off the Straits mouth; one third, and one fourth-rate, and another of the Dutch ships of war, were appointed to strengthen those before ordered to ply up and down in that station.†

The admiral sailed from the river of Lisbon, on the 28th of April, and, in his passage up the Straits, he, on the 11th of May, being about twelve leagues from Alicant, had sight of several vessels, which he took for fishing-boats. But he had a better account of them the next day; for having detached before some light frigates from Barcelona, to give notice of the approach of his

* Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, p. 349. Oldmixon, vol. ii. p. 413. The Complete History of Europe, for 1703, p. 187, 188. London Gazette, No. 4428.

† There was an absolute necessity of sending so strong a fleet to the relief of the king of Spain, for without it he must have been obliged to quit that kingdom. The enemy had no less than three armies in the field, under the command of the duke of Orleans, the duke of Noailles, and the Marquis de Bay; while King Charles was in a manner shut up in his city of Barcelona, and had no hopes of his being delivered, but by our fleets transporting the German troops, that lay ready for his service in Italy. Yet, very soon after the arrival of Sir John Leake in these seas, his affairs began to change their aspect, and he had a considerable army in the field, under the command of that consummate officer Count Staremberg. Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, Annals of Queen Anne. Complete History of Europe, for 1708.

fleet, one of them had the good luck to take a French frigate of twenty-four guns, and thereby obtained an account of the convoy that was expected. Upon this, the captains of our frigates made the necessary dispositions for intercepting them. * The next day, the French convoy appeared in sight, consisting of three men-of-war, one of forty-four, another of forty, and the third of thirty-two guns, with ninety settees and tartanes laden with wheat, barley, and oil, for the use of the duke of Orleans's army, and bound for Peniscola, near the mouth of the Ebro. The British frigates bore down immediately upon the enemy's men-of-war, and these abandoning their barks, and endeavouring to make their escape, came in view of the confederate fleet, which, seeing seven men-of-war, concluded they were enemies, and thereupon the admiral made a signal to give them chace. But as the great ships could not follow them near the coast, the French made their escape in the night. The vice-admiral of the white, who sailed on the left with his division, perceiving the barks near the coast, sent his long-boats and small ships, and took several of them. † The next morning they saw some of them dispersed, which were likewise secured by the long-boats: and some barks of Catalonia, coming out of their harbours at the same time, to have a share in the booty; sixty-nine of them werè taken, and the rest dispersed. ‡

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 750. London Gazette, No. 4435. *Mercure Historique et Politique l'Année, 1708*, tom. xliv. p. 670, 673.

† Burchet's Naval History, p. 750. *The Complete History of Europe*, for 1708, p. 188. London Gazette, No. 4447, as also No. 4453. Authors differ as to the number taken. as do the Gazettes likewise.

‡ This might have proved an affair very considerable in its consequences, if the duke of Orleans, who commanded the army of King Philip, had not been one of the first generals of the age; but he foreseeing that this accident might happen, had provided against it, by ordering a great quantity of oats and beans, which had been laid up

On the 15th of May, the admiral arrived at Barcelona, where he was joined by several of our ships, and complimented by the king of Spain, on his late success. His Catholic majesty took this opportunity of desiring that a squadron might be left under his direction at Barcelona, while the fleet crossed to Italy, to bring over the reinforcements he expected, and the queen of Spain, who, it was thought, was by this time arrived at Genoa. He signified also his desire, that the provisions lately taken might be laid up in his magazines, which were but indifferently furnished; that care might be taken for reducing Sardinia as soon as possible, and that, whenever the service would permit, such dispositions might be made, as would contribute to the conquest of Sicily, which kingdom he judged might be recovered by the forces that were then under Count Daun, and the care of the then viceroy of Naples.

As to the provisions, the admiral ordered they should be disposed of, as the king required; but with respect of his other demands, the admiral thought it necessary to call a council of war, to determine which should be executed, since it appeared absolutely impracticable to undertake them all. At this council were present, besides himself, Sir John Norris, Sir Edward Whitaker, Sir Thomas Hardy, and two of the English captains; as also Baron Wassenauer, and two of the Dutch.* It was there, after ma-

for the use of the cavalry, to be employed in making bread, till his army could be better supplied. This capture, however, proved of the utmost service to King Charles, as it enabled his army, after it was once formed, to take the field some weeks sooner than it could otherwise have done; and the readiness with which the admiral caused the cargoes of his prizes to be sent to the king's magazines, sufficiently proves the public spirit of Sir John Leake, and the great concern he had for this service.

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 751. Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 504. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. xlv. p. 9.

ture deliberation, determined to leave with the king two of our third-rates, one fourth, and one fifth-rate, and two ships of the States-general; and with the rest of the fleet, to proceed forthwith to the port of Vado, in order to transport the horse and foot from thence to Barcelona, as also her majesty the queen of Spain, if she should be ready when the fleet arrived. *

The admiral sailed in pursuance of this resolution, and on the 29th of May safely anchored before Vado; but finding nothing in readiness, he sent Sir Thomas Hardy to wait on the queen of Spain at Milan, where he arrived on the 18th of June, and was received with all possible marks of respect and esteem. † Upon his pressing instances, her majesty consented to set out immediately for Genoa, where she arrived on the 1st of July, embarked on the 2d, and arrived happily at Mataro on the 14th. ‡

After having conducted the queen, with all imaginable

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* The great reason that his Catholic majesty was so desirous of having a squadron to cruize on the coast of Catalonia, was the apprehensions he was then under, that the French would attempt to send a new convoy of provisions from Provence, and Languedoc, into Spain. Besides, during the absence of the fleet, his affairs were in such a distressed condition, that it was absolutely necessary he should have always a naval force in the neighbourhood of Barcelona, to secure his person, in case of any unforeseen accident; and these were the reasons that determined the admiral, and the council of war, to comply with his majesty's request, to the utmost of their power.

† Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 414. The Complete History of Europe, for 1708, p. 247. London Gazette, No. 4453, 4457, 4460.

‡ As it was certainly known, that King Philip's consort contributed not a little to fix the Spaniards firmly to the king her husband's interest; it was resolved the year before, to fix upon a wife for King Charles, and accordingly, the Princess Elizabeth Christiana of Wolfenbuttle was chosen. She lived many years after her husband, and was mother to the empress queen of Hungary. Before her marriage, her imperial majesty was a Protestant, nor did she change her religion, till she had advised with the Lutheran clergy, who declared, that she might hope for salvation in the church of Rome.

respect, to Barcelona, the admiral thought next of the reduction of Sardinia, which he performed almost as soon as he arrived. He appeared before Cagliari on the 1st of August, and having summoned it, the marquis of Jamaica, who commanded there for King Philip, declared his resolution of holding out to the last extremity. Upon this, the admiral ordered the place to be bombarded all that night, and the next morning Major-general Wills landed about eighteen hundred men, and made the necessary dispositions for attacking the city; but the Spanish governor, believing himself now at the last extremity, saved them any further trouble by coming to a speedy capitulation.* The reduction of this island, was of equal advantage to the common cause, and to that of King Charles; for it gave great security to our navigation, and enabled his Catholic majesty to supply himself from thence, as often as he had occasion, with corn and other provisions.†

The admiral had scarcely completed the conquest of this island, before his assistance was required for the reduction of another; and therefore, sailing from Cagliari the 18th of August, he arrived before Port Mahon on the 25th; but not finding Lieutenant-general Stanhope, afterwards Earl

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 752. Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 512. London Gazette, No. 4479. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. xlv. p. 325, 422, 485.

† This island lies to the north of Corsica, from which it is divided by a small and shallow arm of the sea. It has on the east, the sea of Sicily; on the west, the Mediterranean; on the south, the coast of Africa, from which it is not distant above fifty leagues. It is divided into two parts by the rivers Credo and Lirso, and is extremely fruitful in corn, oil, honey, and all the necessaries of life. As soon as the English fleet appeared, the clergy declared unanimously for King Charles; and the admiral had the satisfaction of seeing the new viceroy ~~be~~ carried over, established in the peaceable possession of his government in the space of a week, and without the loss of so much as a man. The reader will find the capitulations at large, in the Complete History of Europe, for 1708, p. 261.

Stanhope, and secretary of state, he sent two ships of the third rate to Majorca, to hasten the embarkation of those which were to be furnished from that island. These returned the 1st of September with some settees, laden with military stores for the army; nor was it more than two days, before the Milford, and three Dutch ships of war, arrived with the lieutenant-general, being followed by five third rates, convoy to fifteen transports, that had on board the land forces; whereupon a council of war was held of the sea officers, and it was resolved, that the ships which were to return to Great Britain, should leave behind them, to assist in the attempt, all the marines, above the middle complement of each of them; and that the squadron of English and Dutch, designed to be continued abroad with Sir Edward Whitaker, should remain at Port Mahon, to assist with their marines and seamen in the reduction of that place, so long as the lieutenant-general should desire it; due regard being had to the season of the year, the time their provisions might last, and the transporting from Naples to Barcelona, four thousand of the emperor's troops for the service of his Catholic majesty. It was also resolved, that the English ships should spare the forces as much bread as they could, and both they and the Dutch all their cannon-shot, except what might be necessary for their own defence; and that when every thing should be landed, which was necessary for the siege, the admiral should proceed to England, with one second-rate, and six thirds of ours, and eight Dutch ships of the line; but some time after this, he sent home two English and two Dutch ships of war, with the empty transports of both nations, in order to their being discharged. The siege was carried on with such vigour, that, by the end of October, the place surrendered, and the garrison, consisting of about a thousand men, marched out, and were afterwards transported on board our vessels, some to

France, and others to Spain, according to the articles of the capitulation. *

Before this conquest of Port Mahon, Fort Fornelle, which had beneath it a harbour little less considerable, though less known than Port Mahon, had submitted to the obedience of King Charles. This service was owing to Captain Butler, and Captain Fairborne, who battered that fort, with the two ships under their command, till they obliged it to surrender. The place was naturally strong, and was, besides, tolerably fortified ; having four bastions, and twelve pieces of brass cannon : yet, it cost but four hours time, and the loss of six men killed, and twelve wounded. They found in the garrison, a hundred cannon, three thousand barrels of powder, and all things necessary for a good defence.

Some little time after, the general sent a detachment of about a hundred Spaniards, with three hundred or more of the Marquis Pisaro's regiment, to Citadella, the chief town of the island on the west side thereof. Sir Edward Whitaker despatched two ships of war thither ; which place put them to no great trouble, for the garrison, immediately surrendering, were made prisoners of war, consisting of a hundred French, and as many Spaniards. Being thus possessed of this important island, we had thereby the advantage of an excellent harbour, which, during the war, was exceedingly useful to us in the cleaning and refitting such of our ships as were employed in

* The troops under the command of General Stanhope, consisted of no more than two thousand six hundred men, which were landed at Port Mahon on the 14th of October. They were not able to batter the place till the 28th, and two days after it surrendered ; about fifty men were killed and wounded in the siege, and among the former, Captain Stanhope of the Milford, brother to the general, a young gentleman of great hopes, and who had distinguished himself remarkably upon this occasion. Burchet's Naval History, p. 753. Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 512. *Mémoire Historique et Politique*, tom. xlv. p. 373, 488.

the Mediterranean; and not only magazines of stores were lodged there for that purpose, but such officers appointed to reside on the place, as were judged requisite, and a vast expense saved thereby to the nation.*

But it is now time we should return to the fleet, which, as we observed, sailed under the command of Sir John Leake for England, the 6th of September. His excellency, on his arrival at Gibraltar, being there informed, that four French men-of-war had taken some of our merchant ships, running, as they called it, without convoy, near Cape Spartel, and carried them into Cadiz; he thought proper to leave a small squadron, consisting of two third-rates, one fourth, and a fifth, to cruize in that station, in order to prevent such accidents for the future,

* The reduction of the island of Minorca, was so considerable a service, that all imaginable pains were taken to make the British nation sensible thereof, by giving an exact relation of that whole proceeding in the Gazette; and after General Stanhope had transmitted an account of the conquest of the whole island, the earl of Sunderland, then principal secretary of state, wrote the following letter to his excellency upon that subject:

“ SIR,

“ I received on Monday the favour of yours of the 30th September, N. S. by Captain Moyser, with the welcome news of your taking Port Mahon; which though it came at the same time as the news of taking of Lisle, yet was not at all lessened by it; every body looking upon our being in possession of Port Mahon, as of the last consequence to the carrying on the war in Spain; besides the other advantages, if we are wise, we may reap from it, both in war and peace. I cannot express to you the sense the queen, and every body here, have of your zeal and conduct, in this affair, to which this very important success is so much owing. I heartily condole with you for the loss of your brother, which, indeed, is a public loss to us all, he was so deserving a young man. I must not omit telling you, the queen does entirely approve of your leaving an English garrison in Port Mahon, for the reasons you mention, though some of them must be kept secret. Her majesty doth approve also of the governor you have named,” &c. Burchet's Naval History, p. 753. Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, p. 350, 351. The Complete History of Europe, for 1708, p. 312. London Gazette, No. 4481.

and then pursued his voyage to England, where he arrived safely at St. Helen's, on the 19th of October,* having met in the Soundings with the squadron cruizing there under the command of Lord Dursley, afterwards Earl Berkley, and for some time at the head of the admiralty.

Sir Edward Whitaker had now the sole command of the squadron left for the Mediterranean service, and was consequently exposed to all the difficulties which usually happen to officers under different orders. On one side, he was bound to regulate his conduct by the instructions left him by Sir John Leake; on the other, he was continually solicited by King Charles, to undertake this or that expedition for this service. The chief thing the imperial court had at this time in view, was, the reduction of the island of Sicily, an enterprize not to be undertaken, but in conjunction with our fleet; and, as it afterwards proved, not then neither; for when Sir Edward had disposed every thing in the best manner possible, for the supporting this design; the viceroy of Naples declared, there were such discontents in that kingdom, as would not allow him to send any troops from it; but, if Sir Edward Whitaker would furnish him with a small squadron, he was ready to undertake the reduction of the places on the coast of Tuscany, which belonged to the crown of Spain.†

In compliance with this request, the *Defiance*, and the *York*, with the *Terrible* bomb-vessels, were sent into the road of Piombino; but the Germans, as usual, were so backward in their preparations, that it was necessary to continue a month longer in those seas; to very little purpose, at least with respect of either of the designs before mentioned: but, in regard to a dispute that then subsisted

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 753. Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. *Mercur Historique et Politique*, tom. xlv. p. 531.

† Burchet's Naval History, p. 751. Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, p. 350. The Complete History of Europe, for 1708, p. 313.

between his holiness and the imperial court, and which had almost risen into a war, it had a better effect ; for our chasing some of the Pope's gallies, and threatening to bombard Civita Vecchia, contributed not a little to bring down the pontiff's haughty stomach, and inclined him to an accommodation upon terms acceptable to the imperial court.

All this time, Sir Edward Whitaker himself was at Leghorn, attending the motions of the German troops, where he unexpectedly received a letter from King Charles III. of a very extraordinary nature. His majesty acquainted him therein, that the enemy had not only besieged the city of Denia, in Valencia, but had threatened also to attack Alicant, in which they were to be supported by a French fleet of fifteen ships of the line. For these reasons, and to prevent his being surrounded in Catalonia, his majesty earnestly intreated him not to pass the Straits, as by Sir John Leake's instructions he was required to do, but to remain upon the coast of Spain ; assuring him, if he did otherwise, he would charge upon him all the misfortunes that might happen to his affairs. General Stanhope also wrote much to the same purpose ; upon which it was resolved, in a council of war, to proceed immediately to Vado, to take on board there a reinforcement of German foot, for the service of King Charles, and then sail directly for Barcelona. *

* The affairs of King Philip continued to prosper, after the battle of Almanza, on all sides. The duke of Orleans commanded the best part of the year, and after making himself master of Tortosa, had certainly carried his conquests farther, if the French court had not thought fit to recal him ; the reasons of which extraordinary step have been somewhat differently reported. It is, on the one hand, alledged, that the princess of Ursins, who at that time entirely governed King Philip, fell into a correspondence with the enemies of the duke of Orleans at the French court, and by a multitude of intrigues, rendered him odious to his uncle, Lewis XIV. On the other hand, it is as confidently affirmed, that his royal highness held a secret correspondence with the allies, and had actually formed a project for supplanting King Philip. Whatever his political schemes might be, he certainly

In pursuance of this design, Sir Edward Whitaker left Leghorn on the 27th of November, and having executed it very successfully, arrived safely at Barcelona. There the king acquainted him by letter, that, according to what had been agreed on, at a council of war holden in his royal presence, the most considerable service the squadron under his command could do, at that juncture, was to return to Italy, and convoy thence the troops designed for Catalonia; but withal, recommended to him not only the conveying the transports, with corn from Majorca, and their being afterwards sent to Sardinia, for a further supply, and for horses to mount their cavalry; but that, when he should be on the coast of Italy, he would appoint such ships as Cardinal Grimani might desire, to secure the passage of the Pharo of Messina, which might conduce to the more speedy accommodation of affairs that were negotiating at Rome.

Hereupon it was agreed, that the Dutch ships should proceed directly to Majorca, and convoy the transports to Barcelona, and from thence to Cagliari, as soon as they should be unladen, while the rest of the squadron made the best of their way to Leghorn, where arriving, they met with very bad weather; but had advice, that matters were accommodated at Rome, the Pope having owned Charles III. king of Spain; and from the marquis de Prie, that three thousand effective men should be ready to embark at Naples, as soon as they arrived there.* These

shewed himself an able general, since, by keeping Count Staremberg employed in Catalonia, he gave the Chevalier d'Asfeldt time to conquer and secure the kingdom of Valencia.

* The pope had all along shewn a great inclination to favour the French interest, and the emperor having differed with him about their temporal rights, the Pope began to raise troops, and to behave as if he intended to dispute the point after the manner of sovereigns; but the German troops entering the ecclesiastical state, and living there at discretion, and the English fleet threatening his coasts, he was constrained, much against his will, and after struggling against it to

negotiations took up the remaining part of the winter, and therefore, here we are to put an end to our account of Sir Edward Whitaker's squadron, the proceedings of which we shall resume, when we come to speak of the naval transactions of the ensuing year.

The squadron appointed to cruize in the Soundings, was commanded this year by Lord Dursley, who was very fortunate in protecting our trade, but not altogether so happy in chasing the French ships that appeared from time to time upon our coast, which was entirely owing to the foulness of his ships, and to the cleanness of theirs. In the middle of the summer, a resolution was taken, to make a descent on, or at least to alarm, the coast of France; and Sir George Byng as admiral, and Lord Dursley as vice-admiral, of the blue, were appointed to command the fleet destined for that purpose, and lieutenant-general Erle had the command of the land forces. Many things were given out with relation to this expedition, the true design of which was disturbing the French naval armaments on their coasts, and obliging the French court to march great bodies of men to protect their maritime towns, which necessarily occasioned the diminishing of their army in Flanders. On the 27th of July, the fleet, with the transports, having the troops on board which were intended for the descent, sailed from Spithead, and came the next day to an anchor off Deal. The 29th, they stood over to the coast of Picardy, as well to alarm as to amuse the enemy, and to be ready for further orders. The 1st of August the fleet sailed again, and anchored the next day in the bay of Boulogne, where

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the utmost of his power, to acknowledge King Charles, and to submit, in every other respect, to the terms prescribed by the emperor. About the same time, several of the fortresses on the coast of Tuscany were reduced by the countenance of our fleet; and something, probably, had been attempted in Sicily, but that King Philip sent over thither Count Mahoni, an experienced officer, with a seasonable reinforcement of three thousand men.

they made a feint of landing their troops; the 3d, they stood in pretty nigh the shore, to observe the condition of the enemy. The 4th they weighed; but anchored again about noon in the Bay of Estaples.

Here a detachment of troops were actually landed; but the project on shore, which this descent was to have countenanced, being by this time laid aside, an express brought new orders from England, upon which the troops were re-embarked. The 7th, they stood over again to the coast of England, and, being joined by several more transports in Dover road, arrived the 11th in the Bay of La Hogue. The 12th, it was designed to have landed the troops; but, upon viewing the coast, they found so many of the enemy's forces brought together, to oppose a descent, and so many forts and batteries on shore, that it was judged impracticable. The 14th, the fleet sailed again to the westward; but, the wind coming about the next day, they altered their course, and lay before Cherbourg, but found no prospect of doing any thing there. The same day, the Lord Dursley, in the Oxford, with six other men-of-war, and frigates, sailed to the westward to cruize in the Soundings. The 17th, the rest of the fleet returned to the bay of La Hogue; but the men growing sickly, and provisions falling short, Sir George Byng returned to Spithead on the 28th.*

When the squadron under Lord Dursley had been victualled, and refitted, at Plymouth, he sailed from that

* Mr. Secretary Burchet takes not the least notice of this expedition, though we have a very large account of it in the *Gazettes*, No. 4458, 4459, 4460, 4461, &c. The French historians, likewise, magnify the great advantage they obtained by repelling this invasion. After thus alarming the French coast, and creating the enemy inexpressible trouble, the duke of Marlborough desired, that this body of troops might be landed at Ostend, which was accordingly performed on the 23d of September, at so critical a juncture, that it is thought, if they had not arrived as they did, the city of Lisle could scarcely have been taken.

place on the 28th of September, with five ships of war, and was joined the next day by the Hampshire, which had taken a small French privateer. His lordship took another himself, of twenty-four guns, belonging to St. Malo, which had done a great deal of mischief. On the 7th of November, his lordship returned to Plymouth, and soon after the Hampshire brought in a privateer of 16 guns, and a rich merchant-man bound to the West Indies; the Salisbury likewise brought in two prizes, and, through the great vigilance of this noble commander, the whole coast was very thoroughly protected. In the middle of December, his lordship having cleaned his ship, put to sea again with his squadron, and, on the 29th, saw two ships, which chaced him; but when they came near, they bore away, and then his lordship returned the compliment, by chacing them with all the sail he could make, and at last came within gun-shot, when their commander lightened them by throwing many things overboard, and so they escaped; which gave great concern to his lordship, the one being a sixty, the other a fifty-gun ship: so that, after a short cruize, he returned with his squadron to Plymouth, without being able to make any other prize than a French fishing vessel from the banks of Newfoundland.

Though this indefatigable diligence of his lordship was not attended with any extraordinary success, yet it gave great satisfaction to the merchants, because it hindered the French privateers from venturing near our coasts, as they had done for many years before, to the inexpressible damage of our trade, as well as to the prejudice of our reputation as a maritime power. It was, therefore, justly resolved, to give his lordship an extraordinary mark of her majesty's favour, by promoting him to the rank of vice-admiral of the white; and though this was somewhat retarded by the death of his royal highness the lord-high-

admiral, yet it took place in the spring of the succeeding year. *

Before we part with this subject, in order to account, as we have promised to do, for what happened this year in the West Indies, it is requisite to speak of the passage of the queen of Portugal on board our fleet to Lisbon. Her majesty was styled, before her marriage, the archduchess Mary Anne of Austria, daughter to the emperor Leopold, and sister to the emperor Joseph. This marriage was thought to be highly advantageous to the common cause, and was therefore very grateful to our court, who readily offered to send her majesty to Lisbon on board a British squadron. In the beginning of the month of September she set out for Holland, where Rear-admiral Baker attended, with a small squadron, to bring her over; † which he accordingly did on the 25th of that month, and landed her at Portsmouth, where she staid some days at the house of Thomas Ridge, Esq. and the queen, being then at Windsor, sent instantly the duke of Grafton to compliment her majesty on her part, as his royal highness the prince of Denmark did the Lord Delawar. ‡ On the 6th of October, about three in the afternoon, the queen of Portugal went on board the Royal Anne, where her majesty was received by Sir George Byng, and, on her going off, the governor saluted her with all the cannon of the place; and the next morning,

* What I have here advanced, is on all hands allowed, and even by Bishop Burnet himself, who confesses, that much greater care was taken of our trade, and the French privateers were more effectually restrained, than 'in any year since the war began. Buxhet's Naval History, p. 720. Burnet, Oldmixon, Complete History of Europe, for the year 1708. Annals of Queen Anne. Columna Rostrata, p. 288.

† Boyer's History of Queen Anne, p. 354. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. xlv. p. 306. London Gazette, No. 4466, 4469.

‡ Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 515. Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, p. 354. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. xlv. p. 410. London Gazette, No. 4471.

at seven o'clock, the fleet weighed and put to sea, when all the cannon of the town were again discharged.

Sir George Byng proceeded with a fair wind, and, after a quick and easy passage, brought her majesty safely into the river of Lisbon, on the 16th of the same month. The king, with several magnificent barges, went on board the Royal Anne to welcome the queen; and, returning thence, their majesties landed at the bridge of the palace, under a magnificent triumphal arch, whence they proceeded through a vast crowd of people to the royal chapel, where they received the nuptial benediction, and heard *Te Deum* sung. His majesty conducted the queen to her apartment, and they supped in public with the infantas. There were great rejoicings upon this occasion, and fire-works and illuminations for three nights together. The queen having generously expressed her great satisfaction at the entertainment she had received during her stay in England, undoubtedly the king was very liberal in his magnificent presents to the admiral and others that conducted her. The arrival of the queen was attended with some other circumstances, which increased the joy of the people; for, on the 12th, four ships from Brazil came into the river, and reported, that the rest of that so long expected fleet were near the coast.* Several other ships came in afterwards, so that, out of about a hundred sail, there were but thirty or forty wanting, which were detained by contrary winds. The cargo was rich, and there was a good quantity of gold in specie aboard.†

* The Complete History of Europe, for 1708, p. 513. London Gazette, No. 4478, 4484, 4487. This fleet is said to have been the richest that ever arrived in the river of Lisbon, as we have remarked in the text, having on board ten thousand arobas of gold, each aroba weighing thirty-two pounds weight, and a great quantity of diamonds, besides merchandize, and was valued, in the whole, at fifty-two millions of crusadoes.

† Colonel Godfrey, who had married the duke of Marlborough's sister, was sent to Portsmouth, to defray the expenses of the Queen

Sir George, the very next day after his arrival, had intelligence, that some French ships of considerable force had been seen upon the coast, which were supposed to be waiting for the rest of the homeward-bound Brazil fleet. Upon this, he immediately sailed in quest of them, though without success, except that the news of his being at sea forced them to retire, and thereby secured the safe arrival in port of the remaining thirty-four ships, which dropped in by degrees. About the middle of November, Sir George received orders to proceed to Port Mahon, to winter there, and to leave Sir John Jennings at Lisbon with a small squadron. But, before he left that river, he received the queen's instructions to wear the union flag in the Mediterranean.* He sailed on the 27th of December, with six ships of the line, two fire-ships, and three store-ships or tenders, leaving directions with Sir John Jennings, to appoint the first ships he should have clean, to guard the mouth of the Straits; and having sent two third-rates, two fourths, and a fifth a-head of him to Alicant, to assure the governor of the castle there of his assistance, he arrived himself about the height of Cape Palos the 3d of January, when standing in for Alicant, the wind came off from the land so fresh, at N. N. W. that he could not fetch the bay, so that he bore away to Port Mahon; but when he had gotten within four leagues of that place, which was on the 5th, the wind came to the north, and N. N. E. blowing extremely hard, with much

of Portugal's household, while she continued there, and accordingly he kept eight tables all that time. Her majesty, in testimony of her grateful sense of the honours paid her by our court, made a present to the duke of Grafton of a diamond ring, worth twelve thousand crowns, and gave Admiral Byng her picture, set with diamonds, to a very great value. Her passage was remarkably happy, as she was not above ten days at sea. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. xlv. p. 524.

* Bûrchet's Naval History, p. 757. Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, p. 355.

snow; and the next day it was so very tempestuous, that it separated most of the squadron, forcing him almost as high as Sardinia; but on the 12th, he got into Port Mahon, where he found most of the squadron.*

When we last mentioned the exploits of the English navy in America, we gave an account of the arrival there of Sir John Jennings, who commanded in these parts from October, 1706, to January, 1707, without having it in his power to perform any thing very remarkable. He was succeeded in his command by Commodore Wager, who arrived at Jamaica in the summer of the year 1707, and disposed all things in such a manner, that the designs of the enemy were rendered absolutely abortive; the several English settlements were thoroughly protected, and such convoys granted the merchants, as put the trade of that part of the world into a much better condition than it had been since the breaking out of the war; all which was very honourably acknowledged by the planters and merchants.†

In the beginning of the year 1708, that part of the world was much alarmed with the news of M. du Casse's arrival, with a French squadron of great force, and which, it was supposed, had some design upon the island of Jamaica. This apprehension, however, soon went over, upon the commodore's receiving certain intelligence, that Du Casse had sailed for the Havannah, in order to conduct home the galleons. It is certain, that under his convoy they might have been absolutely safe, since he had

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1708.

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 757. Boyer's Life of Queen Anne. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. xlvi. p. 252. *London Gazette*, No. 4517.

† The commodore was a man particularly agreeable to people in that part of the world, from his disinterested disposition, and from his desire to contribute in every respect to the protection of their trade, which he did, not only without seeking, but even without accepting any gratifications, as the merchants themselves wrote to the board of admiralty.

double the strength of the English fleet in those seas; and, therefore, we may very well admire, that Commodore Wager should even form a design upon these treasure-ships, and much more that he should succeed in it, in spite of all the care and vigilance of M. Du Casse, at once the most able and most active sea-officer then in the French service. *

Such as knew the disposition of the late Sir Charles Wager will readily acquit me of flattery, when I venture to give this character of him: that he was an officer who valued his reputation as much, and his fortune as little, as any man that ever was in the British service. Avarice, therefore, had no share in this project of his, which was grounded only in a desire of doing his duty, and restoring the reputation of the British arms, which had not been a little sunk in that part of the world, especially by the covetousness and cowardly proceedings of some of our commanders. The commodore understood perfectly the route of the galleons: he knew that they were to sail from Porto-Bello to Carthagena, and thence to the Havannah; and, as he was very sensible that it was to no purpose to attempt them after they had joined Du Casse, he was resolved to try if it was possible to intercept them in their passage from Porto-Bello to Carthagena. †

With this view he sent Captain Humphrey Pudner, in the Severne, to watch the enemy's motions in Porto Bello, from whom he received advice, on the 23d of May, that on the 19th the galleons had sailed. The commodore had then with him, the Expedition, Kingston, Portland, and Vulture fire-ship, and cruized to the 27th, in expectation of the galleons, but not meeting with them, the commo-

* *Histoire Militaire*, tom. vi. p. 124.

† Barchet's *Naval History*, p. 705. *Columna Rostrata*, p. 292. *The Complete History of Europe*, for 1708, p. 251.

dore began to fear they had intelligence of his being on the coast, and had gone for the Havannah. *

On the 28th of May, about noon, the galleons, in all seventeen sail, were discerned from his top-mast-head, and, at the same time, they discovered him; but, despising so small a force, resolved to proceed. He chased them till evening, when they, finding they could not weather the Baru, a small island which lay in their passage to Carthagena, resolved to dispute the matter there, and stretching therefore to the northward with an easy sail, they drew as well as they could into a line of battle. The admiral, who wore a white pennant at the main-top-mast-head, in the centre; the vice-admiral, with the same pennant at the fore-top-mast-head, in the rear; and the rear-admiral, who bore the pennant on the mizen-top-mast-head, in the van; about half a mile from each other, there being other ships between them. †

Of the seventeen, two were sloops, and one a brigantine, which stood in for the land; two others of them were French ships, which running away, had no share in the action; the rest Spaniards. The commodore instantly made his disposition; he resolved to attack the admiral himself, gave instructions to Captain Simon Bridges, who commanded the Kingston, to engage the vice-admiral, and

* This was an affair of prodigious consequence; for, first, the galleons had not returned to Europe for several years, and consequently were extravagantly rich. This very squadron that was attacked by Commodore Wager, had on board forty-eight millions of pieces of eight. The Spaniards and French depended entirely upon this supply, their cash and credit being absolutely worn out, so that their mint bills were at thirty and forty per cent. discount. It was for these reasons, that care was taken to send so strong a French squadron into the West Indies, and under the command too of an officer, who, besides his high reputation in every other respect, was the best acquainted of any man with those seas.

† Burchet's Naval History, p. 705. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. xlv. p. 230, 307. *Pointer's Chronological Historian*, vol. ii. p. 598.

sent his boat to the Portland, commanded by Captain Edward Windsor, with orders to attack the rear-admiral, and as there was no immediate occasion for the fire-ship, she plied to the windward. *

The sun was just setting when Commodore Wager came up with the admiral, and then, beginning to engage, in about an hour and half's time, it being dark, she blew up, not without great danger to the Expedition, from the splinters and planks which fell on board her, on fire, and the great heat of the blast.† Hereupon the commodore put abroad his signal lights, for keeping company, and endeavoured to continue sight of some of the enemy's ships; but finding, after this accident, that they began to separate, and discovering but one, which was the rear-admiral, he made sail after her, and coming up about ten o'clock, when he could not judge which way her head lay, it being very dark, he happened to fire his broadside, at least many guns into her stern, which did so much damage, that it seemed to disable her from making sail; and being then to leeward, he tacking on the Spaniard, got to windward of him, and the Kingston and Portland, which had, by reason of the darkness of the night, or the blowing up of the Spanish admiral, which made it very thick thereabouts, lost sight of the other ships, following his lights soon after, came up with him, and assisted in taking the rear-admiral, who called for quarter about two in the morning. On board of this ship he sent his boats to bring to him the chief officers, and before the rising of the sun, he saw one large ship on his weather-bow, and three sail upon the weather-quarter, three or four leagues off ours,

* Commodore Wager was wont to say, in private conversation, that a man who would not fight for a galleon, would fight for nothing; and, probably it was in a full persuasion of this, that he attempted so numerous a squadron with so small a force.

† Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 315. Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, p. 351. London Gazette, No. 4459.

lying then with their heads to the north, the wind being at N. E. an easy gale. Then he put out the signal for the Kingston and Portland to chase to windward, not being able himself to make sail, being much disabled; and, as he had a great part of his men in the prize, so were there no less than three hundred Spanish prisoners on board his own ship. *

On Sunday the 30th, the wind being from the N. E. to N. N. W. and but little of it, the Kingston and Portland had left off chase; but he made the signal for continuing it, which they did, and ran him out of sight, the fire-ship still continuing with him, and he having lain by some time, not only to put the prize in a condition of sailing, but to refit his own rigging, made sail eastward on the 31st, when the Kingston and Portland joined him, and gave him an account, that the ship they chased was the vice-admiral; to which, as they said, they came so near as to fire their broadsides into her; but were so far advanced towards the Salmadinas, a shoal off Carthagená, that they were forced to tack and leave her. This gave the commodore great uneasiness, and determined him to call the captains of these ships to account; but, in the mean time, he sent them orders to take or destroy a galleon of forty guns, which he understood, by a Swedish ship that had been trading at Baru, had taken shelter in that island.

She was just coming out of port as the Kingston and Portland appeared; upon which her crew ran her a-shore, set her on fire, and blew her up, so that nothing could be gotten out of her, as our captains affirmed, and this, as it appeared to the commodore afterwards, was true. On the 2d of June, the commodore finding his provisions and water short, the wind contrary, and nothing more to be

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 706. The Complete History of Europe, for 1708. Annals of Queen Anne. Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 414.

done in those parts, resolved to set the Spanish prisoners a-shore, according to their request, on the island of Baru, and then proceed for Jamaica; which he performed accordingly, and the Spanish rear-admiral retained, as long as he lived, a grateful sense of the commodore's civility. *

On the 8th of July, the Expedition, Kingston, and Vulture fire-ship, brought the prize safe into Port-Royal harbour, where the commodore soon after arrived. He found, at his return, the new act of parliament for the distribution of prizes; and though he had before permitted the sailors to plunder as they thought fit, when the prize was taken, yet now he appointed agents, in obedience to that act of parliament, and ordered Captain Long to deliver up nearly thirty thousand pounds worth of silver and effects, that he had taken between decks, in order to satisfy the sailors of the uprightness of his intentions. He likewise took care to despatch proper intelligence to England, that ships might be fitted out to cruize for the galleons

* According to the account given to the commodore by these prisoners, of the strength and value of the squadron, and which seems to deserve more credit than any others, the admiral, called the St. Joseph, carried sixty-four guns, and had six hundred men, of whom seventeen only were saved, and had on board about seven millions in gold and silver; the vice-admiral mounted sixty-four guns, and had between four and five hundred men, with about six millions; the rear-admiral mounted forty-four guns, but carried eleven more in her hold, and had only thirteen chests of pieces of eight, and fourteen sous of silver, the rest of the galleons were, for the most part, loaded with cocoa. It is very remarkable, that in all the action, the commodore had but two men killed, and nine wounded. I shall take this opportunity of adding a succinct account of a gallant exploit performed by an English officer, a little before the taking the galleons. Captain Colebay, commander of a privateer sloop, of about an hundred men, meeting with fourteen sail of brigantines and sloops, laden with valuable goods, going from the galleons at Porto Bello, to Panama, under convoy of a guard sloop, bravely fought the guard sloop, and took her and six more. The Spaniards offered the captain one hundred and eighty thousand pieces of eight for the ransom of the sloop, which he refused.

which had escaped ; and, on the 23d of July, he held a court-martial on the two captains who had behaved so indifferently in the late engagement. *

* In the London Gazette, No. 4476, we have the following account of the proceedings of this court-martial:

At a court-martial held on board her majesty's ship Expedition, at Port Royal, in Jamaica, the 23d of July, 1708,

PRESENT,

Charles Wager, Esq. commander-in-chief of a squadron of her majesty's ships in the West Indies, president.

Captain Barrow Harris, of the Assistance ; Captain Tudor Trevor, of the Windsor ; Captain Humphrey Pudnor, of the Severn ; Captain Stephen Hutchins, of the Scarborough ; Captain Henry Long, of the Expedition ; Captain Abraham Tudor, of the Dolphin.

All duly sworn, according to an act of parliament.

Captain Simon Bridges, commander of her majesty's ship the Kingston, was tried for not having performed his duty in a late action with the Spanish galleons, on the coast of Carthagena, in New Spain, on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of May last; and it did appear by evidence upon oath, that the said Captain Simon Bridges, through misconduct, did not use his utmost endeavours to engage, and take the enemy, on the 28th of May last, at night ; and that he did too negligently pursue the chase of the Spanish vice-admiral, the 29th and 30th; and that he left off chase, when within gun-shot of the said ship, doubting the pilot's knowledge, and bearing near the shoal, called Salmadinas, though the pilot offered to carry the ship within the said shoal, after the said vice-admiral; but no want of personal courage being alledged against him, this court does only find him guilty of the breach of part of the twelfth, and part of the fourteenth articles of war, and for the said offence, do dismiss him the said Captain Simon Bridges, from being captain of her majesty's ship Kingston.

Captain Edward Windsor, commander of her majesty's ship the Portland, being tried for not doing his duty, in a late action with the Spanish galleons, on the coast of Carthagena, in New Spain, on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of May last; it did appear, by evidence upon oath, that the said Captain Edward Windsor was slack in his duty, by not bearing so near the enemy as to keep sight of some of them, when they were engaged on the 28th at night; that upon chasing the enemy next day, by signal from the commodore, he left off chase, and bore down to the Kingston in the evening, when he ought not to have done so ; and that on the 30th, when the Kingston and Portland

A few days after, the commodore received a commission, appointing him rear-admiral of the blue,* which bore date before his taking of the galleon; and therefore, as Mr. Lediard very justly observes,† ought not to be considered as a reward for that action; in which light, however, many other writers have placed it.‡ Captain John Edwards arriving at Jamaica, with the Monmouth, a third-rate, the Jersey, a fourth, and the Roebuck, a fifth-rate, brought the rear-admiral orders, to send home with him, the Expedition, Windsor, Assistance, Dolphin, Dunkirk's prize, and Vulture fire-ship, with which he complied; and by the latter end of September, they all sailed for England, the Dunkirk prize excepted, which frigate, not being in a condition to be trusted home in the winter, the rear-admiral sent her out on a short cruize, with the Monmouth, the ship in which he was to hoist his flag, under the command of his first lieutenant, when, in the Expedition, Captain Purvis and they brought in two French merchant ships, one of one hundred, the other of one hundred and fifty tons, laden with wine, brandy, and other goods, from Rochelle to Petit Guavas; but cruising soon after, on the north side of Hispaniola, the Dunkirk's prize chased a French ship, until she ran on shore near Port Française, and following her too near, the pilot not being well acquainted, she struck upon a ledge of rocks,

chased the vice-admiral of the galleons, near the Salmadinas, he shortened sail before he came up with the said ship, so far as he might have done; but it appears, that he was led into these mistakes through want of judgment, and having too great a regard to Captain Bridges, of the Kingston, as a senior officer. This court having duly considered the whole matter, do find him guilty of the breach of some part of the twelfth, and part of the fourteenth articles of war, and for the said offence, do dismiss him, the said Captain Edward Windsor, from being captain of her majesty's ship Portland.

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 709.

† Naval History of England, vol. ii. p. 838.

‡ Columna Rostrata, p. 293. The Complete History of Europe, for

where, being a very weak ship, she soon bulged; Captain Purvis, with some of his men, got upon a small key, or uninhabited island, within shot of the French ship; and though she had fourteen guns, and sixty men, and fired smartly upon them, yet having his own boats, with a canoe he had taken, and having made a stage, from which he was ready to attack them, the French demanded quarter, and surrendered the ship, upon agreement, that her commander and men should be put on shore; and with this ship Captain Purvis arrived at Jamaica, with all his company, except twenty-one, who refused to assist in the attempt, believing it altogether impossible to succeed therein. *

Upon intelligence sent the rear-admiral from the admiralty, that M. Du Guai Trouin had sailed with a strong squadron, which it was believed might be intended to execute some design upon the island of Jamaica, a council of war was held on the 1st of December, 1708, where were present, besides Rear-admiral Wager, Captain Trevor, of the Kingston; Captain Pudner, of the Severn; Captain Hutchins, of the Portland; Captain Vernon, of the Jersey; Captain Charles Hardy, of the Roebuck; and it being judged, that, if they made such an attempt, it would be against the harbour of Port Royal; it was determined, that all her majesty's ships there, except such as it might be necessary to send to windward, for intelligence, or on any other extraordinary occasion, should be drawn up in a line, at the entrance of the said harbour, so as that, with the assistance of the fort, they might in the best manner possible defend it, and most annoy the enemy. The 18th of January, another council of war was called, and since the letter of advice before-mentioned was dated almost six months before, it was considered, whether the

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 709. Annals of Queen Anne. Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii.

squadron should be kept any longer together, since the enemies ships had not appeared; in which it was at length determined, they ought to be employed on necessary services. Thus we have brought the proceedings in the West Indies down to the close of this year, and, according to the method hitherto pursued, we are now to return home, and to give an account of such remarkable events there, as have relation to the affairs of the navy. *

On the 27th of October, a court-martial was held on board the Royal Anne, at Spithead, for the trials of Captain Richard Edwards, of the Cumberland; Captain John Balchen, of the Chester; and Captain Baron Wild, of the Royal Oak; the two first for losing their ships, and the last for breaking the line, disobeying his commanding officer's orders, and neglect of duty. After a strict examination of witnesses, and free liberty given to the persons accused to make their defence, and to produce whatever testimonies were in their power, Captain Edwards was most honourably acquitted, and declared to have done his duty, in every respect, both as captain and commodore; and Captain John Balchen was also acquitted; but Captain Baron Wild being found guilty of neglect of duty, and disobeying orders, was not only cashiered, but declared incapable of ever serving in the royal navy. †

On the 28th of October, died his royal highness George prince of Denmark, lord high-admiral of England, and her British majesty's consort, at Kensington, of an asthma. ‡ He was born in 1653; married to her majesty the 28th

* The French writers themselves own, that affairs went very ill in this part of the world; and Bishop Burnet, who is usually hard enough upon the miscarriages at sea, has nothing to say as to this year's conduct, but that we did not take so many of the galleons as was expected; yet he lays this at the right door, I mean at that of the captains who were broken by the court-martial.

† Annals of Queen Anne. Lediard's Naval History.

‡ Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, p. 357. Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 455. London Gazette, No. 4484.

of July, 1683; and on the 13th of November, 1708, he was interred in the Abbey-church of Westminster, at ten in the evening. At this hour, the ordnance on the platform, and on board all the ships in the harbour of Portsmouth, were fired, a minute after each other, which lasted for some hours; and the next morning the union flag was hoisted again, which had been taken down on the news of his royal highness's death.* Her majesty was pleased to keep the admiralty in her own hands, for about three weeks; and, on the 25th of November, she appointed Thomas earl of Pembroke† lord high-admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, to the great satisfaction of the whole nation.‡

The new parliament meeting on the 18th of November, and having chosen Sir Richard Onslow, Bart. for their speaker, the lord high-chancellor, in a speech from the throne, recommended a provision for the navy, and especially for the building of new ships, and fortifying our

* The Complete History of Europe, for 1708, p. 432. London Gazette, No. 4488, 4489.

† Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 516. Pointer's Chronological Historian, vol. ii. p. 602. London Gazette, No. 4492.

‡ Bishop Burnet gives this account of the matter: "In the end of October, George prince of Denmark died, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, after he had been twenty-five years and some months married to the queen: he was asthmatical, which grew on him with his years; for some time he was considered as a dying man, but the last year of his life he seemed to recover a better state of health. The queen had been, during the whole course of her marriage, an extraordinary tender and affectionate wife; and in all his illness, which lasted some years, she would never leave his bed, but sometimes sat up half the night in the bed by him, with such care and concern, that she was looked on, very deservedly, as a pattern in this respect. This prince had shewed himself brave in war, both in Denmark and in Ireland: his temper was mild and gentle: he had made a good progress in mathematics: he had travelled through France, Italy, and Germany, and knew much more than he could well express; for he spoke acquired languages ill and ungracefully."

ports. On the 6th of December, the house of commons addressed, for an account of the number of men, that might be wanting to man her majesty's navy, for the year 1709; which was promised, and upon this, the account being laid before the house, they agreed to it immediately, and voted the same number of men, with the same allowance, and the same sum for the ordinary use of the navy, as had been given the year before; but soon after, the commons thought fit to appoint a committee to enquire into the number of ships employed as cruizers and convoys; as also to discover the true reasons of the great increase of the navy debt; and on their report, they came to a resolution on the 24th of March, "That an address be presented to her majesty, to desire that she would be pleased to give directions to the proper officers, to lay before the house, an account of all the sums of money granted, or voted, since her majesty's accession to the crown, and how far the same had proved deficient." At the same time, they ordered the commissioners of the navy to lay before them the causes of the increase of the debt of the navy. But, to this address, it seems the ministry did not think fit her majesty should give any answer; so the affair dropped for that time.* It is certain, and indeed it was very natural, this conduct of the court gave great offence; yet the commons were so hearty in the prosecution of the war, that, with their usual liberality, they gave for the service of the year 1709, no less a sum than six millions four hundred fifty-seven thousand eight hundred and thirty pounds.

There were also in this session some other things done for promoting trade and the plantations, such as a grant

Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 516. Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 414, 415. The Complete History of Europe, for the year 1709, p. 43, 44. Chandler's Debates, vol. iv. p. 114.

of one hundred and three thousand two hundred and three pounds for the relief of the inhabitants of Nevis, and St. Christopher, and a vote in favour of the trade to Africa ; * but the most remarkable was, the joint address of both houses, that her majesty would be pleased not to conclude any peace with the French king, unless he consented to demolish the fortifications and harbour of Dunkirk ; which point being accordingly insisted upon in the conferences at the Hague, with M. de Torci, for settling the preliminaries of a general peace ; and that minister shewing greater reluctance to consent to this, than to any other of the articles, alledging, that his master bought, and paid for this town and port, besides laying out immense sums upon it since ; which so provoked Prince Eugene, that he could not help telling the French ministers, with great warmth, that he wondered they should spend so many words about it, and that they ought rather to admire the generosity of a princess, who, having it in her power to prescribe them harder terms, and force them to deliver that, with what other places she pleased, and revive many pretensions of the crown of England, gave an unparalleled example of her moderation.† This had such an effect, that the point was immediately given up, and the following article makes the seventeenth of the preliminaries they agreed on.

“ His most Christian majesty promises, to cause all the
 “ fortifications of the town of Dunkirk, the harbour, and
 “ Rysbanck, and others depending on the same, without
 “ any exception, to be demolished at his own charges ; so
 “ that one half of the fortifications be demolished, and
 “ one half of the harbour filled up within two months,
 “ and the other half of the said fortifications razed, and
 “ the other part of the said harbour filled up in two other

* Boyer's *Life of Queen Anne*, p. 379. *The Complete History of Europe*, for 1709, p. 98. *Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts*, vol. ii.

† *Complete History of Europe*, for 1709, p. 140.

“ months, the whole to the satisfaction of the queen of
 “ Great Britain, and the lords the States-general of the
 “ United Provinces; and it shall never be allowed to re-
 “ establish the said fortifications, or render the harbour
 “ navigable, directly or indirectly.” *

I have taken particular notice of this, in order to shew how unanimous all parties in this nation have ever been, as to their sentiments on this head; for it was Lord Somers who moved this affair in the upper house: and therefore, the measure ought to be considered as a direct proof of the disposition of the Whig ministry, as the inserting a like clause in the treaty of Utrecht, plainly shews the sense of Tory ministers; whence I conclude, that there must be a total revolution of parties in this country, before there can arise a set of men capable of weakening this part of our security, in any respect, by consenting to, or even conniving at the restoring this port, so fatal to the commerce of the two maritime powers. To these points, I shall add the inquiry into the conduct of the ministry in the late invasion, which was justified by the resolutions of the house of commons, and the diligence of the admiralty commended. †

Before we proceed to the operations of the year 1709, it may not be amiss to take notice of a great naval promotion made by her majesty, for this reason, because it was one of the noblest testimonies of her majesty's concern and regard towards such of her subjects, as had served with extraordinary diligence and activity at sea; for the post of rear-admiral of Great Britain having been vacant since the death of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, her majesty, of her mere grace and favour, without the interposition of any of her ministers, bestowed it on Sir JOHN LEAKE, with this

* These articles may be found in all the general collections; particularly in the Complete History of Europe before-mentioned, p. 145.

† Burnet, Oldmixon, Complete History of Europe, Annals of Queen Anne, Chandler's Debates, &c.

remarkable compliment, "That she was put in mind of
" it by the voice of the people."

Early in the spring, Lord Dursley, who commanded in the Soundings, was at sea with his squadron, and took several prizes from the French; and on the 22d of February, his lordship having only with him the Kent, Plymouth, Monk, and Litchfield, fell in with eleven sail, twelve leagues from Scilly. This happened about three in the morning, and their lights being seen, his lordship made the signal for wearing, which was obeyed, though not without imminent danger of falling among the enemy; for this proved to be M. du Guai Trouin's squadron. However, through the darkness of the weather, his lordship missed them; and then stretching away for Plymouth, Captain Stewart of the Dartmouth, whom his lordship had sent in a little before with a prize, informed him, that he had been chased by nine large ships off the Lizard, and that they were the same, in his judgment, which had fallen in with, and engaged Captain Tollet in his passage from Ireland.* This affair having made a great noise, and doing extraordinary honour to the bravery of our English officers, I shall give a particular account of it from the captain's own papers.

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On the 25th of February, Captain Tollet, in the Assurance, of seventy guns, with the Sunderland, of sixty, Hampshire and Anglesea, of fifty guns each, sailed from Cork, and being joined by the Assistance, a fifty-gun ship, together with the trade from Kinsale, he continued his voyage for England. On the 2d of March, about five in the morning, being then eight leagues S.S.W. of the Lizard, he saw four sail standing after him. About seven, they came within random shot; whereupon he made the signal for drawing into a line of battle, and another for the mer-

* Burchet's Naval History, p.722. The Complete History of Europe, for 1709. Annals of Queen Anne.

chant-men to bear away as they best could for their own security; some of them, with the Anglesea and the Sunderland, having before lost company. About eight, the enemy bore down in a line, and when they were come within musket-shot, they hoisted French colours.

The French commodore, who was in a ship of seventy guns or upwards, came ranging along the larboard side of the Assurance, and fell a-board her, so that they engaged yard-arm and yard-arm, for the space of almost half an hour; during which, the Frenchman plied Captain Tollet so warmly with small shot, as to cut off most of his marines and seamen that were quartered on deck. They then put off, and fell on board again on the lee side of the Assurance, first ranging on her bow, and then on her quarter, while she fired her upper deck, and part of her lower deck guns, with such vigour, that she obliged the enemy to sheer off, and stand away a-head towards the merchant-men. The three other ships, which were of forty or fifty guns, then came ranging along-side the Assurance, firing several broadsides into her, and after that bore away as the former. The damage she received was very great; her sides were shot through and through in many places; her shrouds and back-stays cut to pieces, as likewise her main and false stay; which, if not timely seen, had occasioned the loss of her mast. Her fore-sail and fore-top-sail were torn to pieces; her best bower cut away; one of the flukes of the spare anchor shot off, and her small bower, by the enemies boarding, drove through her bow. All possible despatch was made in fitting her rigging, which, with the bending of a new fore-sail, and fore-top-sail, took up some time. After this the ships of war all bore down, to secure what merchant ships they could, expecting to have engaged the enemy again; but they declined it. The captain of the Assurance, who had been four months sick, and had been carried upon deck in a chair, was wounded; the first lieutenant was shot in

the leg, which being dressed, he then returned to his charge upon deck; the second lieutenant was killed, as were several French officers, whom they brought from Ireland; but more of the latter were wounded. In the whole, the Assurance had five and twenty killed, and three and fifty wounded, and some of these died of their wounds; for the enemy making their chief attempt on her, she had been severely treated; the Hampshire had only two killed, and eleven wounded; the Assistance eight killed, and one and twenty wounded, among the latter was Captain Tudor, her commander, who died afterwards of his wounds. *

M. du Guai Trouin, who commanded the French squadron, had abundance of men killed and wounded, and took only five merchant-men, which it was believed he sent into Brest. In the memoirs, which go under his name, it is acknowledged, that our officers did their duty extremely well; that not only his own ship was roughly handled by Captain Tollet, but also that the Amazon, and the Glory, that were with him, met the like reception from the Hampshire and the Assistance. As to the five prizes, he says, that two of them, were sent to St. Malo, one got into Calais, and the other two foundered on the English coast. †

* It is amazing that Mr. Secretary Burchet should commit so gross a mistake as he has done, with respect to the dates in this engagement. He tells us, p. 723, that Captain Tollet sailed from Cork on the 25th of April; and immediately after, he informs us, that the engagement happened on the 6th; but he does not tell us of what month, though, from the former account, it must have been May. Mr. Lediard saw, and corrected this mistake; but without bringing us any authority, though he happens to be right in his conjecture. We do not, however, trust to that method. In the London Gazette, No. 4521, is a letter from on board the Assurance, with an account of this transaction, dated in Hamoaze, March 3, and therein the engagement is expressly said to have happened the day before.

† The French journals of those times acknowledge the same thing, and own, that their ships were very roughly treated; and that, if our

Lord Dursley, on the 20th of March, ordered three ships to cruize off Brest, to gain intelligence, and in the mean time the Salisbury took a French West India ship, richly laden; but the most valuable part of her effects were immediately taken out, because she proved so leaky, that it was suspected she might founder at sea. On the 29th, his lordship had orders to see the Lisbon fleet of merchantmen safe into the sea; but his lordship having received certain intelligence, that M. du Guai Trouin was then cruizing at the distance of about thirty-five leagues from Scilly, his lordship proposed to leave the trade and transports, under the protection of some Dutch men-of-war that were expected from Portsmouth, and resolved to go himself in search of the enemy; but these Dutch ships of war not arriving in time, his lordship thought it better to comply with his orders. He accordingly escorted the Lisbon fleet as far as he was directed, and had scarcely parted from them, on the 9th of April, before he discovered the Achilles, commanded by M. du Guai Trouin, and the Glory, who, the day before, had taken the Bristol man-of-war, a fifty-gun ship; his lordship immediately gave them chase, recovered the Bristol, which, by a shot in her bread-room, sunk afterwards; but all the men, except twenty, were saved. The Achilles, much shattered, escaped by her swift sailing, but Le Gloire, a French man-of-war of forty-four guns, and three hundred and twelve men was taken; his lordship having about seventy men killed and wounded in the action.* On the

squadron had been stronger; it would have been difficult for them to escape.

* London Gazette, No. 4540. All our public accounts call the French man-of-war taken in this engagement, Le Gloire; but it appears from the French writers, that the true name of it was, Le Glorieux. In the account published by the admiralty, it appears, that the Bristol, Captain Gore, was taken in her passage from Plymouth to Lisbon, after a very warm dispute, in which she had seventy men killed and wounded. The French man-of-war was taken by Captain

26th of April, two small ships were taken, and on the 7th of May, a privateer, carrying fourteen guns, and one hundred men; but the provisions through all the ships then growing very short, his lordship found it necessary to return to Plymouth on the 13th, with his squadron, which consisted at that time of one third and seven fourth-rates, and there received the unwelcome news, that her majesty's ship the Sweepstakes, of thirty-two guns, had been taken by two French privateers, each of which was of greater force than that frigate.

To balance this piece of ill news, there arrived, about the same time, advice, that four French men-of-war had attacked some New England ships, laden with masts, under the convoy of Captain Walter Ryddel, in the Falmouth, a ship of fifty guns, about twenty-four leagues from Scilly. This happened on the 18th of May, and the French commodore, a sixty-gun ship, attempting to board the Falmouth, Captain Ryddel saved him the trouble by filling his head sails, and laying her on board under her bowsprit, directly athwart her hawser, and at the same time raked her fore and aft with his cannon. The enemy continued in this posture about an hour and a half, during which time he entered many men, but they were repulsed. However, the number of men on board her being much greater than those in the Falmouth, it occasioned various turns: but at length he thought fit to retire, having first cut all the laniards of the Falmouth's fore and mizen shrouds, believing it might prevent her following to rescue the convoys, which the enemy stood after. Notwithstanding this, Captain Ryddel made sail after him with such diligence, as enabled him, notwithstanding the bad condition he was in, to preserve them all, and to bring them safe into Plymouth. In this action the Falmouth had

Thomas Matthews, afterwards admiral and commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean.

thirteen men killed, and fifty-six wounded. The captain himself was wounded in the right leg, and had several other hurts; and the second lieutenant, and Mr. Lawson, a volunteer, were shot through the body; the *Falmouth* had twenty thousand pounds, New England money, on board her at the time of the engagement. *

On the very same day, application being made to his excellency Thomas earl of Wharton, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland, signifying that two French privateers had entered Bantry Bay, and surprized the *Ruth* of London, a West India ship, supposed to be worth twenty-five thousand pounds at least; his lordship ordered Captain Cammock, in the *Speedwell*, then in the harbour of Kingsale, to proceed immediately in quest of the said privateers and their prize. He accordingly sailed directly for Beerhaven, at the very entrance of which he met one of the privateers and the prize, making the best of their way to France. The prize was immediately retaken, on board which the captain put his lieutenant with forty men, and then continued the chase all night; but finding the privateer had given him the slip, he the next morning entered Bantry Bay, and took the other privateer, with thirty men on board, most of them Irish, whom he sent to the prison of Cork, in order to their being tried for high treason. † Three weeks afterwards, the same alert officer had the good luck to surprize a French privateer of twelve guns and ninety men, on the very point of taking three merchant-men, richly laden, all of which he brought safely into the port of Londonderry. ‡

It is now time to return to the proceedings of Sir

* See the London Gazette, No. 4543. Complete History of Europe, for the year 1709, p. 135. Burchet, Annals of Queen Anne: but all these accounts are taken from that in the Gazette.

† See London Gazette, No. 4544. Pointer's Chronological Historian, vol. ii. p. 621.

‡ See the London Gazette, No. 4556.

George Byng, whom we left in the harbour of Port Mahon, where he was extremely distressed for want of naval stores, which were on board the *Arrogant*, a ship that had been missing from his arrival in that harbour, in quest of which he detached ships to Majorca, and to the port of Cagliari in Sardinia; and, at the same time, despatched orders to Sir Edward Whitaker, who was still on the coast of Italy, to join him with his squadron, in case the emperor's troops, that were designed for Catalonia, were not as yet ready. All the month of February, 1709, was spent in tedious expectations; but at last, about the middle of March, Sir Edward Whitaker arrived, with about three thousand five hundred men, in transports under his convoy, to the great joy of Sir George Byng and General Stanhope, who had long waited for these forces, in order to attempt something for the relief of Alicant, then besieged by an army of twelve thousand men, and for the safety of which, King Charles had expressed unusual concern. As this city and castle had been taken, as we before have shewn, by the remarkable valour of the British seamen; as the present siege of it was one of the most remarkable actions in this age; and as the attempt made for its relief cannot well be understood without it; I shall take the liberty of giving a succinct account of the whole affair, from the time the place was invested, to the surrender. *

Alicant is a city and port, commanded by a strong castle, standing on a rock, at a small distance from the sea, and about sixty-eight miles south from the capital city of Valencia. There was in it a pretty good garrison, under the command of Major-general Richards, which made an obstinate defence against a very numerous army of the enemy, with a very large train of heavy artillery,

* Burchet's *Naval History*, p. 758. Boyer's *Life of Queen Anne*, p. 593. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. xlv. p. 374.

and excellently supplied with ammunition. At last, the city being absolutely untenable, the garrison resolved to retire into the castle, which had hitherto been esteemed impregnable. They sunk three cisterns in the solid rock, and then, with incredible labour filled them with water. The troops that retired into it, were Sir Charles Hotham's regiment, and that of Colonel Sibourg, generally called the French regiment, because it was composed of refugees. After some progress made in this second siege, the French saw that it was impossible to do any great matter in the usual way, and therefore, contrary to all expectation, resolved upon a work excessively laborious, and, in all outward appearance, impracticable; which was that of mining through the solid rock, in order to blow up the castle and its garrison into the air together. At first, Major-general Richards, and all the officers in the place, looked upon the enemy's scheme as a thing utterly impossible to be accomplished, and were secretly well pleased with their undertaking, in hopes it would give time for our fleet to come to their relief; yet, this did not hinder them from doing all that lay in their power to incommode the workmen, and, at last to countermine them.*

The besiegers, however, wrought so incessantly, and brought such numbers of peasants to assist them in their labours, that they having, in about twelve weeks time, finished the works thought proper for this service, by very experienced engineers, and charged them with one thousand five hundred barrels of powder, several large beams, iron bars, and crows, and other utensils of destruction, summoned the castle to surrender, March 20th, most solemnly assuring a safe and honourable convoy to Barcelona, with bag and baggage for every person in it, if they submitted within three days, and prevented the ruin of

* Burchet's *ubi supra*. The Complete History of Europe, for 1709, p. 118. Pointer's Chronological Historian, vol. ii. p. 614.

the castle; but threatened otherwise, no mercy should be shewn, if any might accidentally escape the blow: and, to demonstrate the reality of their design, they desired the garrison might depute three, or more engineers, with other gentlemen of competent skill, to view their works, and make a faithful report of what they saw. Accordingly, two field officers went to the mine, and were allowed the liberty of making what scrutiny they pleased; upon which they told the governor, that, if their judgment failed them not, the explosion would carry up the whole castle to the easternmost battery, unless it took vent in their own countermine, or vein; but, at least, they conceived it would carry away the sea-battery, the lodging-rooms in the castle-close, some of the chambers cut for soldiers' barracks, and, they very much feared, might affect the great cistern.*

A grand council of war was called upon this; the French message delivered, and the engineers made their report; the besieged acknowledged their want of water; but believing the fleet might be sensible of their distress, and consequently under some concern for their relief, their unanimous resolution was, to commit themselves to the providence of God, and, whatever fate attended them, to stand the springing of the mine. The French general, and Spanish officers, expressed the utmost concern at this answer, and the second night of the three allowed, sent to divert them from what they called, and it is very likely thought, inexcusable obstinacy, offering the same honourable articles as before, even upon that late compliance; but these still were rejected by the besieged. The fatal third night approaching, and no fleet seen, the French sent their last summons, and withal an assurance, that their mine was primed, and should be sprung by six o'clock

* Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, p. 393. Taubman's Memoirs of the British Fleets and Squadrons in the Mediterranean, p. 32, 33. Annals of Queen Anne.

the next morning; and though, as they saw, all hope and prospect of relief were vain, yet there was room for safety still, it being in their power to accept the terms already proposed. The besieged persisted in their adherence to the result of their first council, and the French met their usual answer again; therefore, as a prologue to their intended tragedy, they ordered all the inhabitants of that quarter to withdraw from their houses before five o'clock the ensuing morning. The besieged, in the mean time, kept a general guard, devoting themselves to their meditations. The major-general, Colonel Sibourg, and Lieutenant-colonel Thornicroft, of Sir Charles Hotham's regiment, sat together in the governor's usual lodging-room; other officers cantoned themselves as their tempers inclined them, to pass the melancholy night.*

At length, day appearing, the governor was informed, that the inhabitants were flying in crowds to the westernmost part of the town. The governor, attended by the above-mentioned gentlemen, and about five or six other officers, went to the west battery, to inform himself better. After he had remained there about a quarter of an hour, Lieutenant-colonel Thornicroft desired him to remove, as being unable to do any service there; he and Colonel Sibourg both answered, that no danger was to be apprehended there, more than in any other place; and that there they would wait the event. The lieutenant-colonel remained, because his superiours did, and other officers imitated the same example: but the hour of five being now considerably past, the corporal's guard cried out, that the train was fired, observing some smoke from the lighted matches, and other combustible matter near it, whence the same ascended to the centinels above. The governor and field-officers were then urged to retreat, but refused.

* *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. xlv. p. 472.

The mine at last blew up, the rock opened and shut; the whole mountain felt the convulsion; the governor and field-officers, with their company, ten guns, and two mortars, were buried in the abyss; the walls of the castle shook, part of the great cistern fell, another cistern almost closed, and the rock shut a man to his neck in its cliff, who lived many hours in that afflicting posture. About thirty-six centinels and women were swallowed in different quarters, whose dying groans were heard, some of them after the fourth mournful day. Many houses of the town were overwhelmed in their ruins, and the castle suffered much; but, that it wears any form at all, was owing to the vent which the explosion forced through the veins of the rock, and the countermine. After the loss of the chief officers, the government fell of course to Lieutenant-colonel Dalbeume, rather as I apprehend D'Albon, of Sibourg's regiment, who drew out a detachment from the whole garrison, and with it made a desperate sally, to shew how little he was moved at their thunder. The bombs from the castle played on the town more violently, and the shot galled every corner of their streets: which marks of their resentment they continued till the arrival of our fleet, which they had expected so long.*

The Spanish and French historians speak of this action with all imaginable regard to the gallant defence made by the besieged. The Spanish army was commanded by the Chevalier d'Asfeldt, who was then in the French service, and looked upon as the very best officer they ever sent to King Philip. He was an excellent engineer, saw at once what was to be done, and having formed his plan,

* This Major-general Richards, though an Englishman, was an officer in the king of Spain's service, and of the Romish religion; the foreign Gazettes mention him with respect, by the name of Don Juan Ricardo; there perished, besides the officers mentioned in the text, five captains, three lieutenants, forty-two soldiers, all the miners, and about thirty peasants.

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pursued it steadily, and accomplished it generally. Under him commanded Don Pedro Ronquillo, a Spanish general of distinguished merit. D'Asfeldt contrived and directed the mine, Ronquillo raised and defended the entrenchments between the castle and the sea. Both punctually performed their parts, though both were difficult. D'Asfeldt was very strict and austere; the Spaniards, even of his own party, thought him cruel; yet, upon this occasion, he not only shewed himself generous, but humane. He used every argument possible to persuade Major-general Richards to spare himself and his brave garrison, and deplored their loss with tenderness and affection. The Spaniards magnified their heroic conduct, and called the ruined castle, the monument of English courage. *

On the 5th of April, about eight o'clock in the morning, Sir Edward Whitaker's squadron arrived, and attempted the relief of the castle; his ships were the *Defiance*, *Northumberland*, *Essex*, *York*, and *Dunkirk*. The last went within the line, as drawing less water than the other, in three and a half fathom; then laying her broadside to the east part of the town, began to cannonade a battery of four guns, and two others raised under the hill, each mounted with two guns, and from the mole-head, a forty-two pounder. The wind having blown fresh the night before, and an unhappy swell rolling in from the eastward at eleven, the great ships were obliged to weigh their anchors, making out of cannon shot. The *Dunkirk* having much of her rigging damaged, and her small bower cut between one and two, fell fast a-stern, lying exposed to the enemy's shot, bombs, and carcasses, till three in the afternoon, at which time, by winding the right way, she with much difficulty got off. The weather continuing very bad till the 7th, and it not being known to what

* *Reflections Militaires et Politiques par le M. de Santa Cruz*, tom. viii. p. 27, 88, 95, tom. ix. p. 197. *Memoires de M. St. Phi-*

extremities the garrison might be reduced, and the enemy increasing considerably in strength, the general sent a flag of truce a-shore, with proposals for surrendering the castle ; * which being agreed to, and our men embarked, the admiral, Sir George Byng, proceeded with the troops towards Barcelona, having detached some ships to cruize for the Turkey fleet; others, with transports for corn to Barbary; and the Suffolk, Humber, and Ipswich, which he left to clean at Port Mahon, were under orders to proceed to Genoa and Final, in order to embark and transport the German troops from those places to Catalonia.

In his way to Barcelona he landed General Stanhope, with the troops, at Terragona; and returning with the garrison of the castle of Alicant to Port Mahon, joined some other ships to those he first intended for Genoa and Final, and sent them thither under the command of Sir Edward Whitaker; but directed him first to proceed to Leghorn, for a supply of provisions, which was at this time very much wanted. The few ships he had with him at Port Mahon, he was cleaning as fast as possible, that they might cruize against the enemy, who had taken the *Faulcon*, a ship of thirty-two guns, off Cape de Gat, in her passage to Lisbon; whence he had ordered Sir John Jennings to join him, with the ships under his command. Sir John was off Gibraltar the 21st of May, with sixteen men-of-war, English and Dutch, and about forty transports, laden with corn, with provisions and stores for the fleet in the Mediterranean, and arrived at Port Mahon the 28th; from which he guarded the corn ships to Barcelona, and was joined the 8th of June by Sir George Byng, with the rest of the English and Dutch men-of-war; and there Sir Edward Whitaker arrived with his

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 753. Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 423. The Complete History of Europe, for 1709, p. 119. London Gazette, No. 4514.

squadron from Italy, and above two thousand recruits for the army in Catalonia.

A council of war being held, it was determined, that since the king of Spain, as the posture of his affairs then stood, could not come to any resolution relating to the fleet's assisting in the reduction of those parts of Spain still in the possession of the enemy, the admiral should sail to a station ten leagues south of Cape Toulon, not only for the purpose of intercepting the enemy's trade, but to alarm them as much as possible; but since it was necessary that a squadron should be on the coast of Portugal, Sir John Jennings was sent thither with one ship of the second-rate, four of the third, five of the fourth and three of the fifth. *

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Sir George Byng arrived before Toulon the 21st of June, in which harbour he saw only eight ships rigged, and one large man-of-war on the careen, the rest being disarmed; which satisfied him, that the informations he had formerly received were true, that the enemy did not intend, in fact was not able, to bring out any fleet that year; but were resolved to content themselves with sending abroad small squadrons to protect their corn-fleets.† After having thus insulted Toulon, he in a short time returned to Barcelona road, where he found most of the ships arrived from the services upon which he had sent them; and some of them, particularly the Centurion and Dunkirk, had been so fortunate as to make a great many prizes. The court of Spain was, at the instance of Cardinal Grimani, very desirous to have the reduction of Sicily attempted, and was informed by General Stanhope, it was her majesty's pleasure, that part of the fleet should assist in the design upon Cadiz; but the Dutch ships

* *Histoire Militaire*, tom. vi. p. 253. Burchet's *Naval History*, b. v. c. 29. *Annals of Queen Anne*.

† Burchet's *Naval History*, p. 759. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. xlvii. p. 129. *London Gazette*, No. 4567.

having been separated in bad weather, and ours being too few to answer these and many other services the court proposed, he suspended for some time the coming to any resolution, being every day in expectation of the ships of the States-general.

But at length, that the service might not suffer through delay, the admiral formed a disposition of her majesty's ships, and appointed Sir Edward Whitaker for the service of Sicily, while he himself designed to proceed on the other with General Stanhope. The 26th of July, the court of Spain having notice of the enemy's penetrating into the Lampourdan, with intention, as they apprehended, to besiege Girona; and there being a want of ships to protect the coasts of Catalonia, and to hinder the enemy receiving supplies by sea, as also a squadron being wanted, to bring over the prizes laden with corn from Porto Farina, which they were in great want of in that principality, and some ships to go to Italy, for money to subsist the troops; the court seemed to lay aside the design on Sicily, and the admiral sent five ships for the vessels laden with corn, * which have been before mentioned.

The warmth, impatience, and irresolution of the court at Barcelona, obliged the admirals to drop both these great designs; for, without regard to what had been resolved, or even for what themselves had demanded before, they were continually desiring something new to be done for them, without ever considering, that it was impossible our ships could perform one service, without neglecting another. Thus, upon an apprehension that the enemy would attack Girona, the English ships were desired to intercept their subsistence. Soon after, they were distressed for want of provisions themselves, and then the most necessary thing that could be done, was to send for the prizes laden with corn from Porto Farina.

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 759, 760. London Gazette. No. 4571, 4577.

By the time this was resolved on, money grew scarce, and then his Catholic majesty hoped, that the English ships would go and fetch it immediately from Italy. The manner in which these demands were made, and the apprehensions the officers were under of complaints being sent home, induced them to comply with every thing, as far as was in their power; so that of necessity, as the most distant and least practicable, the expedition against Sicily was laid aside. Our admirals, however, still flattered themselves that something might be done at Cadiz, where it was known the people were in want of bread, and were, besides, highly discontented with the French government. *

On the 27th of July, the Dutch squadron arrived from Leghorn, upon which Sir George Byng called a council of war, and laid before them the queen's orders, the desires of his Catholic majesty, and the project formed by themselves for attempting Cadiz; but the commander-in-chief of the Dutch ships excused himself from any share in it; declaring, that they were victualled only till the end of August, which disabled him from undertaking any service beyond the 20th of that month. † On the 28th of the month last mentioned, three English men-of-war, the Nassau, Ludlow Castle, and Antelope, sailed for Barcelona, having on board a great sum of money, for the service of his Catholic majesty. ‡ It was then agreed, that

* It was a great misfortune to King Charles, that he had no body about him capable of giving him good advice, or of considering what was fit to be undertaken in the situation his affairs were in. This single mistake at grasping at every thing, when scarcely any thing was in his power, proved the ruin of all his undertakings; though, as this history fully shews, our sea officers did for him all he could expect, and more a great deal than the officers of any other nation would have done, as is evident from "The Impartial Inquiry into the Management of the War with Spain," and all the histories of those times.

† Burchet's Naval History, p. 760. ‡ London Gazette, No. 4586.

Sir George Byng should proceed to Cadiz, and the Dutch ships be employed in other services; which, however, could not be executed; and therefore, Sir George Byng resolved to return home to England, having taken on board the fleet General Stanhope, with Colonel Harrison's regiment of foot, and a Spanish regiment of dragoons, whom he landed safely at Gibraltar on the 31st. * On the 25th of September he sailed for England, arriving at St. Helen's, in the Royal Anne, with the Torbay, Chichester, Colchester, and Antelope, and a small prize taken by the Chichester, in her way from Gibraltar, on the 15th of October. †

Sir Edward Whitaker was left with a pretty strong squadron in the Mediterranean, where, in the Bay of Roses, he discovered the grand convoy, intended for the French forces in the Lampourdan, which consisted of forty large vessels, laden with corn, and other provisions, of which he took thirty, and hindered the rest from putting to sea; by which the enemy was greatly distressed, and King Charles's army so happily supplied with provisions, as to be able to keep the field, which otherwise they could not have done. ‡ And having thus attended our fleets in the Mediterranean, as long as they were employed in any considerable service, we shall now return to the exploits performed in the Soundings by Lord Dursley, with the squadron under his command.

Sir George Byng, in his return from the Mediterranean,

* London Gazette, No. 4586, 4590, 4594.

† London Gazette, No. 4605, 4606. *Mercuré Historique et Politique*, tom. xlvii. p. 443, 556.

‡ I find this put in a much stronger light by some Dutch writers, who tell us, that Admiral Whitaker, with fifteen sail of men-of-war, entered the Bay of Roses, and destroyed fifty French ships, laden with corn. They add, that the admiral was inclined to assist his Catholic majesty in reducing Roses, which would have left the enemy without a sea-port in Catalonia; but his advice was not followed, which was much to the prejudice of King Charles's affairs.

having obtained an exact detail of the strength, station, and designs of M. du Guai Trouin, sent an account of it to the lord high-admiral, who immediately despatched it to the Lord Dursley, just returned from cruising for a corn fleet, which the French expected from the Baltic. His lordship's instructions were, to give the enemy all the disturbance he could, and to take particular care of the West India trade, the intercepting of which was the service that was principally designed by M. du Guai Trouin. On the 8th of October, his lordship sailed for Plymouth, with one third-rate, and two fourths, having before detached Captain Vincent with six ships, to secure the West India fleet; and soon after, his lordship joined that detachment, by which he effectually prevented the French from succeeding in their design. On the last of October, his lordship being then off Scilly, took a large French ship from Guadaloupe,* and a small privateer. Three weeks after, he met with the Barbadoes fleet, and having sufficiently strengthened their convoy, detached two frigates for intelligence, into the road of Brest, that he might be the better enabled to undertake further service.

While his lordship was thus employed, there happened, in the latter end of November, such an accident to one of the ships of his squadron, as very well deserves our notice. Captain Hughes in the Winchester, chased a ship, which proved to be a Dutch privateer, whose commander being required to strike, he, instead of paying that respect due to the flag of England, fired both great and small shot into him; but being answered in the same manner, after an obstinate dispute, though it was very well known

* According to some accounts, this was a very considerable prize; no less than a ship of forty guns, with a cargo worth an hundred thousand pounds. Indeed, this lord took so many, and so rich prizes, that I do not wonder some of our writers grew weary of setting them down; for I observe, that sometimes active officers are not the greatest favourites.

the Winchester was an English ship of war, the commanding officer was killed, and between thirty and forty of the Dutch seamen.*

His lordship being then vice-admiral of the red, detached, on the 9th of December, Captain Hartnol, in the Restauration, with four other ships, to cruize fifteen or twenty leagues west of Scilly, to protect some East India ships, and their convoys, from Ireland; and, on the 2d of January, was going from Plymouth, with seven clean frigates to relieve them; but being ordered to proceed part of the way with Sir John Norris, toward Lisbon; his lordship, after complying with this order, remained in his appointed station till he was forced from it by foul weather; which, however, gave him an opportunity of taking a French privateer of twenty guns, and retaking the St. Peter of Dublin, a rich ship, of which the enemy had made themselves masters, off Cape Clear. His lordship, considering that the East India trade were not yet arrived from Ireland, appointed three ships of his squadron to see them safe from thence.

On the 21st of February, the Kent brought into Plymouth a small privateer, and a French merchant ship; as the Restauration and August did the next day four more, which were bound from Nantz to Martinico; and not many days after, his lordship appointed the Restauration and August, to see two East India ships well into the sea; but, by contrary winds, they were forced back again. The 10th of March, the Montague took a privateer of ten guns, and his lordship having seen the East India ships, and those bound to the Isle of May, a hundred and fifty leagues from Scilly, returned to Plymouth the 9th of May; seven

* I cannot find any account of this in the Dutch writers, and I must confess, I wonder that Mr. Burchet gave it a place in his history. This however, is certain, that the behaviour of the captain was not only right in itself, but so agreeable likewise to Lord Dursley, that soon after he hoisted his flag on board the Winchester.

days after which, the *Lyon*, *Colchester*, and *Litchfield*, brought in four prizes, two of them privateers, the others merchant-ships; when his lordship leaving the squadron, came to town, after having acquired as much reputation as it was possible for an officer to do in that difficult station,* and where many had lost the credit for which they had toiled many years.

Before I proceed to the events in the West Indies, I shall take notice of some accidents that happened in our naval affairs, and which seemed to have escaped the attention of most, if not all our historians. In the first place, I am to observe, that in the latter end of June, her majesty's ship the *Fowey*, of thirty-two guns, was taken in the Mediterranean, by two French men-of-war of great strength.† On the 23d of September, Captain Hanway, in her majesty's ship the *Plymouth*, of sixty guns, arrived at Plymouth with a French man-of-war, which he had taken on the 20th. Captain Hanway was bound to Plymouth, in order to repair some damages he had received; and about seven leagues N. W. by N. from the *Deadman*, he saw this ship, and chased it two hours, before he came up with her; as soon as he came near enough to engage, he fired upon her with great vigour, and after a sharp action, which lasted above an hour, he obliged her to surrender. The French ship was called *L'Adriat*; she had been fitted out from Dunkirk, was commanded by the *Sieur Jacques Cashard*, having forty guns mounted, but

* Burchet says, that he obtained leave of the lord high-admiral to come to town: but that could not be; for the lord high-admiral was removed in the beginning of November, and this was in the march following. I mention it only to shew the inaccuracy of that writer, in things with which he ought to have been best acquainted.

† Pointer's Chronological Historian, vol. ii. p. 648. See Taubman's History, before cited. As for the French historians, they either say nothing of this matter, or they have multiplied this into three ships, and have given the credit of taking them to Captain de l'Aigle, in the *Phoenix*.

had ports for forty-eight, and two hundred and sixty men on board; several of the men belonging to the Plymouth being sick on shore, Captain Hanway could make use of no more guns in this action than the enemy's ship had mounted. The captain of the French vessel, with fourteen other officers and seamen, were killed in the engagement, and sixty wounded; of the Plymouth's company, the captain of a company of marines on board, and seven men, were killed, and sixteen wounded.*

In the latter end of the month of October, the West India fleet, being about one hundred and fifty leagues off the Lizard, met with a violent storm, by which they were separated from five ships of war, appointed for their convoy; the Newcastle, which was one of them, being so shattered, that she lost her main-mast, and with much difficulty got to Falmouth; soon after, the Hampshire and the Gloucester were attacked by the squadron of M. du Guai Trouin, and made a gallant defence, notwithstanding the great inequality of force; which, however, gave the ships under their convoy an opportunity of escape. At last, after seven hours fight, the Gloucester, a sixty gun ship, and just rebuilt, was taken; but the Hampshire obliged the enemy to sheer off, and in a very shattered condition got into Baltimore.† On Christmas day, the Solebay man-of-war, with eight merchant ships under her convoy, bound to Lynn in Norfolk, were unfortunately lost upon Boston-Knock, and only two boats full of men saved out of all the ships.‡ From these disagreeable accidents, let

* See the London Gazette, No. 4593.

† Pointer's Chronological Historian, vol. ii. p. 649. *Mercuré Historique*, tom. xlvii. p. 667. Father Daniel places the loss of this ship, which, he says, carried seventy-two pieces of cannon, and four hundred and fifty men, on the 6th of November, N. S.; but all our naval historians are quite silent about it, though, I think, the captain's defence does us much more honour than the loss of a sixty gun ship can discredit.

‡ Remarkable Accidents at Sea, p. 35.

us now return to the conduct of Admiral Wager in the West Indies.

A.D.
1709.

As this admiral had always been extremely careful of the trade in that part of the world, so, in the spring of the year 1709, he sent Captain Hutchins, in the *Portland*, to protect the trading sloops that were going to Porto Bello. All the latter part of the month of April, Captain Hutchins lay in the *Pastimentos*; from whence he descried four large ships, two of fifty, and two of thirty guns, in the harbours of Porto Bello. The two largest, as he was informed by the private traders, were the *Coventry*, a fourth-rate, taken from us by the French, and the *Minion*, both from Guinea. On the 1st of May he had intelligence, that they sailed the evening before; upon which he stood to the northward till the third, when he gained sight of them about eight in the morning. At noon, he discovered their hulls very plain, and they being to windward, bore down to him, firing some guns as they passed by; soon after which they wore, as if they designed to engage in the evening, but did not. There was little wind, and about six o'clock he tacked upon them, and keeping sight all night, near eight in the morning he came up within pistol-shot of the *Minion*, but was obliged to fight her to leeward, because he could not possibly carry out his lee guns, though the ships of the enemy did. The *Coventry*, after he had been warmly engaged, got on his lee bow, and firing very smartly at his masts, did them no little damage; but he being not willing to be diverted from the *Minion*, plyed her very smartly, nor could she get from him, until they shot his main-top-sail-yard in two, when both of them shot a-head, he creeping after them as fast as possible in that crippled condition; in the mean while splicing his rigging, bending new sails, and repairing other damages in the best manner he could. *

* Mr. Burchet, as Mr. Lediard well observes, has made a great mistake in the date of this action, which he has placed thirteen

About four in the morning a boat was perceived going from the *Minion* to the *Coventry*, so that he believed he had much disabled the former, and that by the frequent passing of the boat between them, she was sending the best part of her loading on board the other. By ten at night he had completed all his work, and the next morning was ready for a second encounter; but as there was little wind he could not come up with them until the 6th, when before seven in the morning, he was close in with the *Coventry*, which ship hauled up her main-sail, and lay by for him. Coming nearer to her, it was observed she had many small-shot men, so that he durst not clap her on board as he had designed, but plied her with his guns; in the mean time, he received but little damage from the *Minion*. Between eleven and twelve, he brought the *Coventry's* main-mast by the board, and then her fire was much lessened; however, continuing to do what they could, at half an hour past twelve she struck; the first captain being killed, the second wounded, and a great slaughter made among the men, many of whom belonged to the *Minion*; whereas of ours there were but nine killed, and twelve wounded, most of whom recovered; and in the prize, there were about twenty thousand pieces of eight, great part whereof were found among the French seamen. *

Rear-admiral Wager, upon the pressing solicitation of the merchants, sent the *Severn* and *Scarborough* to England, to convoy home the trade, because they were but weakly manned; and according to the orders he had from

months before it happened; but he gives us no authority for his correction; I have before me, the captain's own account, published in the *London Gazette*, No. 4547, which has enabled me to set all the dates right, that are every one wrong in *Buichet's History*.

* See a large account of this engagement, in the *London Gazette*, No. 4547. *Mercurie Historique et Politique*, tom. xlvii. p. 75.

the lord high-admiral, when any ships under his command were so reduced by sickness, as to have no more men on board than were necessary to navigate the ship, these ships were to be sent home; and the reason of this was, that by an act of parliament, which passed soon after Commodore Ker's affair, our admirals were absolutely restrained from pressing men on any account in the West Indies; so that, in truth, there was nothing left for an admiral to do in such a case, but to send home ships that were of no further use. All the time the rear-admiral continued in this station, he took care to keep a sufficient number of ships to cruize upon the enemy, and to protect our trade, which they did with all the success that could be wished or expected.* But in the autumn, our admiral was ordered home; and accordingly he left the few men-of-war that were stationed on the coast of Jamaica under the command of Captain Tudor Trevor, who was soon after relieved by Captain Span. As for the rear-admiral, he had a safe and speedy voyage home, where he was received, on his coming from St. Helen's, in the month of November, with all the respect imaginable; the letters from the West Indies having, contrary to custom, done the greatest honour to the vigilance of our navy in those parts, while under his direction; which is a clear confutation of a modern maxim at a certain board, that it is im-

* The rear-admiral having appointed the Portland to see some merchant ships through the windward passage, she returned with a French prize, taken near Cape St. Nicholas, worth about six thousand pounds. Captain Vernon also, in the Jersey, took in January, a Spanish sloop laden with tobacco, and re-took from two French sloops, a Guinea ship with four hundred negroes. Captain Hardy of the Roebuck brought in a brigantine, partly loaded with indigo, taken at Petit Guavas, which he met on the north side of Hispaniola, as she was going from thence to Port de Paix, or Port François; her master pretended he belonged to Curaçao, and produced a paper from the Dutch governor there, empowering him to trade any where in the West Indies.

possible to satisfy the merchants at home, or the planters abroad. *

Before I close this account of our affairs in America, it is necessary I should say something of a misfortune that befel us in Newfoundland; and the rather, because none of our historians have been particular about it, for which reason I am obliged to take what I have to relate, entirely upon the credit of a French writer. The *Sieur de Saintovide*, the king's lieutenant at *Placentia*, took the fort of *St. John*, on the east side of Newfoundland, by *scalade*, in which action the governor was wounded, and made prisoner, as were the soldiers of the garrison, consisting of about a hundred men. This, my author says, happened on the 1st of January, 1709; and he informs us, that, on the next day, the fort at the mouth of the harbour, built on a rock, and extremely well fortified, surrendered also, and the garrison, consisting of sixty men, were made prisoners of war. This affair must have been attended with very bad consequences for the present; but, as we shall see, these were not only remedied in the succeeding year, but the French settlements, in their turn, were in a manner totally destroyed. † But it is now time for us to return home, and to conclude the history of this year with a short account of the alterations made with respect to the management of naval affairs.

The earl of Pembroke, finding the sole care and direction of the fleet a load too heavy for him to bear, though he had discharged his office of lord high-admiral in every respect to the general content of all parties, very pru-

A.D.
1709.

* *Burchet's Naval History*, p. 711. *Lediard's Naval History*, vol. ii. p. 839. *Annals of Queen Anne*, p. 408. Her majesty, soon after his return to England, conferred on him the honour of knighthood.

† *Journal Historique de Louis XIV.* per *Perc Daniel*, p. 256, 257. He informs us, that there were vast quantities of artillery and ammunition found in these two forts, which I think a little improbable; but that our settlements were in a great measure ruined, seems to be confirmed by several of our own political pamphlets, published this year.

dently and virtuously resolved to lay it down.* A great deal of pains were taken to divert his lordship from this resolution, but to no purpose; he thought the business might be better done by one who had greater experience in maritime affairs; and thereupon, this high office was offered to that gallant sea-officer the earl of Orford, who absolutely refused it, though he was willing to accept a share in the direction of the admiralty. Her majesty, therefore, in the beginning of the month of November, thought proper to direct a commission, whereby she constituted and appointed Edward earl of Orford, Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, George Dodington, and Paul Methuen, Esqrs. commissioners, for executing the office of lord high-admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, in the room of the earl of Pembroke, on whom the queen bestowed a yearly pension of three thousand pounds *per annum*, payable out of the revenue of the Post-office, in consideration of his eminent services.†

Soon after this alteration, there followed a promotion, *viz.* on the 12th of November, 1709, her majesty being pleased to appoint a gentleman who had been long laid aside, *viz.* Matthew Aylmer, Esq. admiral and commander-in-chief of her majesty's fleet; the lord Dursley, vice-admiral; and Charles Wager, Esq. rear-admiral of the red. Sir John Jennings, admiral; Sir Edward Whitaker, vice-admiral of the white. And, Sir John Norris, admiral; and John Baker, Esq. vice-admiral of the blue.‡

The parliament met, and the queen laid before them the proceedings of the last year, and directed an account

* Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 537. Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 427. Annals of Queen Anne, for the year 1709, p. 205.

† Burnet. Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, p. 403. Pointer's Chronological Historian, vol. ii. p. 626. London Gazette, No. 4611.

‡ Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, p. 403. The Complete History of Europe, for 1709, p. 325. Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 427.

of the expenses of the government, both civil and military, to be sent them from the respective offices. The business of Dr. Sacheverel took up the best part of the session; but it happened luckily, that the supplies were first granted, amounting in the whole to six millions one hundred eighty-four thousand, one hundred and sixty-six pounds, seven shillings; in order to the raising of which, a lottery was established, of one million five hundred thousand pounds, of which six hundred thousand pounds were subscribed on the 20th of January, being the first day the books were opened, and all the rest in less than six weeks.* This was sufficient to shew the strength of public credit at that time, as also the disposition of the commons, to continue the war till the ends of it were answered; but, after Sacheverel's trial, it was soon perceived, that this ardour began to abate, which we find attributed by our historians to many different causes.

The chief, however, seems to have been the management of the French king, who, by publishing to all the world the mighty offers of peace that he had made to the allies, and dressing up in the strongest colours the hard conditions which the allies would have imposed upon him, and with which he declared he would have complied, if they had not appeared impossible, and calculated rather to prevent, than promote the re-establishment of the tranquillity of Europe. By these representations, he raised great compassion among the neutral powers, ex-

* Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 537. Annals of Queen Anne, vol. viii. p. 335. Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 429. Chandler's Debates, vol. iv. p. 193. These immense grants of parliament struck the French prodigiously; for while their credit was low, or in a manner quite gone, ours was in its zenith. And, without question, if ever our credit should fail, either in respect of money, or the reputation of our government, the French will gain as great an ascendancy over us, as we then had over them; this we mention as a point worthy of strict consideration here, because in France it is but too well understood already.

cited divisions among the allies, and caused great jealousies and heart-burnings, both here and in Holland. This did not hinder our ministry from pursuing their former schemes, and endeavouring to restore a martial spirit, by the success of their designs on all sides; and as they had hitherto found their conduct most liable to be attacked on the subject of the war in Spain, they took all imaginable care to issue very early the sums granted for that service, which amounted to about a million; but it was resolved, since there was no immediate occasion for great fleets in the Mediterranean, to recal Sir Edward Whitaker, and to leave Admiral Baker, with a small squadron, to protect the trade, and obey the orders of King Charles III. *

A.D. 1710. Matthew Aylmer, Esq. admiral of the fleet, being in the Soundings with a considerable force, saw all the several fleets of our outward-bound merchant-men safe into the sea, and having sent them forward on their respective voyages, upon the 27th of July, he remained cruising for two days afterwards, about sixty-eight leagues S. W. by W. from the Lizard. On the 29th at noon, he discovered thirteen sail N. E. of him. He ordered the Kent, Assurance, and York, to chace a-head, and fol-

* As I have been hitherto very particular in relation to the war in Spain, which we certainly carried on with great vigour, though under infinite disadvantages, I shall here lay before the reader, at once, the several sums granted for this service:

	£.	s.	d.
In 1703	215,692	2	0
1704	320,481	11	0
1705	476,727	15	10
1706	726,740	15	10
1707	998,322	11	10
1708	1,248,956	12	2½
1709	1,217,083	0	4
1710	1,276,035	16	2
	6,480,040	5	2½

lowed with the rest of the ships under his command; but the weather proving hazy, he could not discover next morning more than one merchant ship. He received advice, however, before noon, that the Assurance had made prize of one of the enemy's vessels, upon which he immediately sent his boat to bring the master of her on board him; which was accordingly done.*

This Frenchman informed the admiral, that the ships he had seen the day before, were fourteen merchant-men, bound for the banks of Newfoundland, and Martinico, under convoy of the *Superbe*, a French man-of-war of fifty-six guns, and the *Concord* of thirty: that the former, having seen them into the sea, was to cruize in the Soundings, and the latter to proceed to Guinea; and that, on their perceiving the English fleet, the *Concord* bore away with the merchant-men under his convoy. Soon after this, the *Kent*, commanded by Captain Robert Johnson, came up with, and engaged the *Superbe*, for the space of an hour, when she struck; in which action Captain Johnson behaved like a gallant officer, and an experienced seaman: for, as he attacked the French ship without waiting for other ships, so she was taken by him without any assistance, although she had a greater number of men than the *Kent*. Both of them were very much shattered in the fight; but so good a sailer was the *Superbe*, that, had she not been three months off the ground, she would in all probability have escaped. This ship had taken several valuable prizes from us before, and our cruisers had often chased her without success; but falling thus into our possession, she was registered in the British navy, being a very beautiful vessel, and not above eighteen months old.†

* Burchet's Naval History, book v. chap. 30. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. xlix. p. 221. *Boyer's Life of Queen Anne*.

† Burchet's Naval History, p. 765. *The Complete History of Europe*, for the year 1710. Lediard, Oldmixon.

Sir Edward Whitaker was at Port Mahon with his squadron, when he received the order before mentioned, and sailing thence on the 27th of March, he arrived at Lisbon on the 4th of April, with three ships of the third-rate, where he made some stay, in order to take the homeward-bound merchant-men under his protection; and then sailing on the 29th of that month, he arrived safely on the 1st of June with our own, and the Dutch and Portugal fleet, and their convoys, in our channel. * As for Vice-admiral Baker, having conducted the transports to the several ports to which they were bound, he got sight, in his return to Barcelona, off the Faro of Messina, of four large ships, with several settees under their convoy; this was on the 2d of May, and he chased them with all the diligence possible. The next morning, Captain Masters, in the *Fame*, came up with, and took one of the ships, and soon after Captain Cleveland, in the *Suffolk*, took another, called *Le Galliard*, of fifty-six guns; but the remaining two, which were gallies, escaped, with most of the settees. The Vice-admiral having seen the transports safe into Barcelona, and having received advice, that Sir John Norris, with a squadron under his command, was at Terragona, and that he was come to command in the Mediterranean, resolved to join him as soon as possible, in order to execute any orders he brought with him from England; or, to contribute, as far as in his power lay, to the support of King Charles's affairs, which were now in a more flourishing condition than they had been for some years past. We will take notice next of Admiral Norris's instructions, and of what, in pursuance of them, he performed during the time he commanded in these parts. †

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 764. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. xlviii. p. 645, tom. xlix. p. 60.

† Burchet's Naval History, p. 768. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. xlviii. p. 197. *Annals of Queen Anne*.

The grand fleet designed for this year's service in the Mediterranean, sailed from Plymouth on the 12th of January, under the command of Sir John Norris, who having seen the Virginia, and other merchant-men bound to the West Indies, safe into the sea, arrived at Port Mahon on the 13th of March, where he was joined by Sir Edward Whitaker, and a Dutch rear-admiral. Immediately after his arrival, he detached three English, and two Dutch men-of-war, with the public money, recruits, and ammunition, to Barcelona, in order to receive his Catholic majesty's commands. While the admiral remained here, he had the mortification of hearing, that two of our men-of-war had been taken by the French; with this alleviating circumstance, however, that both officers and men had behaved bravely, and that the misfortune was entirely owing to the enemy's having a superiour force. *

* These two ships were the *Pembroke*, of sixty-four guns, commanded by Captain Rumsey, and the *Faulcon*, of thirty-two guns, commanded by Captain Constable. They were cruising to the southward of Nice, when, on the 29th of December, they discovered five sail of ships, which they took to be part of Sir Edward Whitaker's squadron. However, they stood towards them; but perceiving they had French colours, and two of them standing in for Antibes, they made the signal appointed by Sir Edward Whitaker, which was answered by the enemy, two of their ships hoisted English colours, and the third Dutch, and immediately bore down upon them. Our captains were not, however, deceived, but stood on their guard, and when they discovered them to be very large ships, made all the sail from them they could; but they having a brisk gale, and our ships but little wind, the *Toulouse*, a seventy-gun ship, came up with, and attacked the *Pembroke*, and in less than half an hour the other two, one carrying sixty-six guns, and the other fifty, attacked her likewise, and having taken her, pursued, came up with, and took the *Faulcon*. Captain Rumsey was killed in the engagement, in which he lost one hundred and forty men, her mizen-mast was brought by the board, and all her rigging torn to pieces, before the officers agreed to surrender. Captain Constable, in the *Faulcon*, had a shot through his shoulder, and yet he never stirred from his post, or consented to strike his ensign, till he had but sixteen sound men left out of his crew.

Not long after, he received more welcome intelligence, *viz.* that two of our ships had taken a French man-of-war of sixty guns, called the Moor, a very fine ship, and which was afterwards registered in the list of our royal navy.* After making the necessary dispositions for the many services that were required from the fleet, Sir John sailed on the 7th of April, from Port Mahon, and arrived on the 11th at Barcelona. There he was informed by the king of Spain, that the enemy had a design, either upon Sardinia or Naples, and that the duke de Tursis, a Genoese nobleman, who commanded a fleet of gallies for the service of King Philip, was at sea, in order to execute this enterprize. His majesty likewise informed him, that he was in great want of the German succours, that were promised him from Italy. The admiral resolved to do his best toward answering both these demands of his Catholic majesty, and having first landed the viceroy in Sardinia, where he found all things quiet, he proceeded to the coast of Italy, in order to embark the succours before-mentioned. On the 6th of May, Sir John Norris arrived at Leghorn, and having there provided for the security of our Levant trade, which was much disturbed by Monsieur de L'Aigle; he sailed from thence to Vado Bay, where, while the Germans were embarking, he had intelligence, that the Italian gallies had actually taken on board a body of upwards of two thousand men, in order to make a descent on the island of Sardinia.†

Upon this, Sir John Norris called a council of war, and

* This ship was an excellent sailer, and had done a great deal of mischief to our trade. Captain Thomas Long, in the Breda, a stout seventy-gun ship, came up with her, about forty leagues S. W. by W. off Cape Roxent, and in a short and brisk dispute her commander was killed. Soon after, the Waspight, Captain Josias Crow, came under her quarter, and was ready to lay her on board; and then she struck.

† Bouchet's Naval History, p. 769. Complete History of Europe, for 1710, p. 509. Columna Rotunda, p. 289.

in pursuance of the resolutions taken there, he detached, on the 1st of June, four men-of-war to convoy the transports to Barcelona; he likewise detached five English and four Dutch men-of-war, to cruize in the height of Toulon, for a convoy which the French expected from the Levant. The same day he sailed with the rest of the confederate fleet, and two imperial regiments, to go to the assistance of Sardinia, upon certain advice, that the duke de Tursis had sailed with his gallies, and, as we observed before, with some land forces on board, to invade that island. The 2d day they came before La Bastida, in Corsica, and saw a little French merchant-ship coming from the Archipelago, which, upon the approach of our fleet, retired under the cannon of that place; upon this, Admiral Norris sent some boats which brought away the ship, but the men made their escape on shore. A bark coming from the shore, brought the admiral advice, that the duke de Tursis, having continued some days at Porto Vecchio, was sailed to Bonifacio, with a design to execute his intended enterprize against Sardinia; whereupon they sailed again; on the 5th came into the bay of Terra Nova, in Sardinia, wherein they found four tartanes of the enemy, which had landed there four hundred men, and sixty officers, under the command of the count de Castillo. They took, the same day in the evening, those four ships, and understanding by the prisoners, that the count, with his forces, was but two miles off upon that shore, the admiral resolved to land some forces to attack them, which was done the next day. They marched directly to Terra Nova, where the enemy were posted; but the count de Castillo seeing it was in vain for him to offer any resistance, surrendered at discretion; so that they took four hundred and fifty soldiers prisoners, with sixty-three officers, and several persons of quality, natives of Sardinia; who, being disaffected to the German government, had joined the enemy, or had gone with the count de Castillo in this

expedition, in hopes that their interest would occasion an insurrection in favour of King Philip V. *

Their enterprize having succeeded beyond expectation, and there being no danger of any rebellion on that side, the troops returned on board the 7th, and the admirals resolved to go in quest of the duke de Tursis, who, according to the report of the prisoners, was sailed to another bay, on the opposite side of the island, to land the rest of his forces. On the 8th, they came, by favour of a fresh gale, into the canal of Bonifacio, where they were informed, by a Neapolitan felucca, that the duke de Tursis had sailed the night before from thence, with intention to retire into the gulf of Ajazzio, in Corsica; whereupon they made all the sail they could, in hopes of coming up with him in that bay; but in the morning of the 9th, when they came into the same, they were informed that the duke de Tursis, foreseeing they would pursue him, had sailed thence the night before, with his gallies, having left in this gulf eight large barks, with five hundred soldiers on board, and the greater part of his ammunition, artillery, and provisions, in hopes that they would not take them in a neutral place.

But Sir John Norris thought fit to seize them, and signified to the republic of Genoa, that the queen of Great Britain, his mistress, could not but express on all occasions the highest resentment against them, for having permitted the duke de Tursis, one of their subjects, to make, in their dominions, such an armament designed against one of the kingdoms belonging to the king of Spain her ally; and that, looking upon their permission or connivance as a breach of their neutrality, he would attack the queen's enemies in all their harbours. The Genoese governor, to whom these representations were

* Annals of Queen Anne. vol. ix. p. 77. *Mercur Historique et Politique l'Année, 1710, tom. xlix.* Oldmixon's History of the Staarts, vol. ii.

made, answered with as much submission as could be expected; promised that he would not supply the duke de Tursis, or any that belonged to him, with provisions; and most earnestly requested, that the admiral would not land any troops upon the island. The admiral having considered his request, and being sensible that it would be to very little purpose to attempt following the enemy into the mountains, thought proper to grant it, and thereupon proceeded immediately for Barcelona, where he arrived on the 18th of June; and the king of Spain desiring that part of the troops might be landed in Valencia, and that the fleet might be as soon as possible at Terragona, it was resolved to sail thither directly, and to leave orders for Vice-admiral Baker to follow; which orders, as I have already shewn, he punctually obeyed. *

The inhabitants of the Cevennes having given the king of France a great deal of disturbance, and having numbers of their countrymen in foreign service, it was proposed to the British ministry, that notwithstanding the miscarriage of former attempts, something should be again undertaken in their favour; and to enforce this advice, it was observed, that the Camisars, then in arms, were within fifteen leagues of Montpellier, and that it was possible to land our troops at Port Cette, within a single league of that city. Upon this, the ministry themselves, conceiving such an expedition might disconcert the enemy's designs in Spain, or at least facilitate King Charles's enterprizes in Catalonia, resolved to send a gentleman to Spain, thoroughly instructed as to the whole of this affair, with orders to propose it to General Stanhope, and Sir John Norris, upon whose approbation, and the consent of the king of Spain, the design was to be immediately put in execution, by the fleet then on the coast of Catalonia. It must be allowed,

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 771. Columna Rostrata, p. 289. The Complete History of Europe, for 1710, p. 510.

that this project was very well formed, and, according to the best informations that I have been able to obtain, if our troops had actually fixed themselves for three days at Cette, we might, with the assistance of the duke of Savoy, have given the French king more trouble than he had ever met with from any of our projects during the war. For his own subjects, then in arms against him, were a bold, daring, hardy people, and, with a very little encouragement from us, would have formed an army of twenty or thirty thousand men, to whom all the French exiles, in every part of Europe, would have resorted; and, as among them there were many experienced officers, it is not easy to conceive, what consequences this affair might have had, or to what extent the flame might have spread.*

On the arrival of this gentleman from England, General Stanhope, who was a very enterprising officer, eagerly embraced the scheme, and prevailed upon King Charles to permit a body of troops, though indeed it was but a very small one, to embark on board the fleet. This resolution being taken, was communicated to Sir John Norris, who, on the 6th of July, held a great council of war, in which it was resolved, to send an express to the duke of Savoy, and to embark the forces immediately, that an affair of such importance might not suffer by delay. The command of these troops, which consisted of no more than the regiment of Colonel Stanhope, and three hundred men from Port Mahon, was given to Major-general Seissan, a native of Languedoc, and a very good officer. The fleet sailed from Barcelona on the 9th, and arrived before Cette on the 19th. The next morning, by break of day, the troops, which were but seven hundred men, and who had landed the evening before, without any op-

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 772. The Complete History of Europe, for 1710, p. 541. Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii.

position, marched directly towards the town. Sir John Norris appointed some ships to batter the fort at the mole-head, upon which the inhabitants retired to the church, and soon after both town and fort surrendered; as in the evening of the next day did the town of Agde; so that now we had firm footing in the enemy's country: and this expedition had a more promising appearance than any that had been hitherto undertaken against France; our only misfortune was, that there were so few men spared for so important a design.*

On the 17th, Major-general Seissan received advice, that the duke of Roquelaure was advancing with four hundred dragoons, and four thousand militia, to ford the lake, and re-possess Cette; upon which the major-general thought proper to leave a hundred and forty men to secure the bridge of Agde, and marched with the rest of the forces to oppose the enemy; writing at the same time to the Admirals Norris and Sommelsdyke, to desire them to send all the boats of the fleet, with as many as they could spare, into the Etang or Lake, to attack the enemy in their passage through the same; which was done accordingly. The duke de Roquelaure, seeing his design prevented by these precautions, returned to Mezé, and the admirals and general detached a major, with a hundred and fifty men, to reinforce the detachment left to secure the bridge of Agde; but, at the same time advice came, that this important post had been abandoned upon a false alarm. Nevertheless, it was resolved to prevent the enemy, and to return to Agde with shallops by sea, in order to regain that post; but the very moment that this was to be executed, a strong wind happened to rise, which obliged them to abandon that design, and direct all their care to secure Cette.

In short, the duke de Noailles, arrived at Agde, the

* Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, p. 459. Columna Rostrata, p. 229. *Mercuré Historique et Politique*, tom. xlix. p. 210, 214.

same day that they were to return thither. They began then to think of the defence of the mountain of Cette, and posted there the few troops they had in the vineyards, surrounded with a slight wall; but with orders to retire, yet not before the arrival of the enemy. The officer, who commanded fifty men, did not rightly apprehend this order, or else he was surprised; for scarcely had a few French dragoons fired upon our men, before they surrendered to them at discretion. The other troops retired in disorder, though the necessary dispositions had been made to support them in their retreat, and the several officers did all that could be expected from their courage and experience to rally the troops. While these were re-embarking on the 17th, a captain was left in the fort, with fifty men to cover the retreat. It was not accessible, but on the side of the mole, and was defended by two pieces of cannon in the place that leads to it; and besides, the enemy had no boats. The shallops were just by the fort the whole morning; but Admiral Norris had no sooner put off to go on board his ship, but the enemy sent word to the captain, that if he did not immediately surrender the fort, he must expect no quarter. Whereupon the officer let down the bridge, and surrendered at discretion, even before the troops were re-embarked.* The duke de Roquelaure sent them back the captain who had so ill defended the fort, in exchange for a burgher who had been released before; but the captain was set a-shore again, and told, that since he had been so complaisant to M. de Roquelaure, as to deliver up the fort to him, it was but reasonable he should be near the duke's person, and treated according to his merit.†

* See the relation of this descent, in a letter from on board the Dutch admiral, dated from the confederate fleet at Vado, August the 7th, 1710, in the *Annals of Queen Anne*, vol. ix. p. 83.

† Father Daniel gives us a very pompous account of this business: the allies, says he, appeared before Port de Cette, with twenty-five men-

Thus ended an expedition, from which much was expected, and which had no other good effect, except obliging the enemy to recal a considerable body of their troops from Roussillon; in doing this the duke de Noailles made a very remarkable march, of which the French have boasted excessively. Sir John Norris having re-embarked the forces, sailed on the 19th, and shewed himself off Toulon and Marseilles; some days after, he stood into the road of Hieres, where he discovered a French fly-boat, carrying fifty guns, under three forts, upon the island of Port Croix; upon which he instantly detached some English and Dutch frigates, under the command of Captain Stepney, to attack both the ship and the fortresses. This was performed with great vigour, and in a short time the ship was abandoned, and the lowest of the three forts; upon this our boats rowed hastily to board the vessel, into which our men had scarcely entered, before the ship, by a train laid for that purpose by the enemy, was blown up, and thirty-five of our people either killed or wounded. This misfortune was soon followed by another; for our ships that were cruizing off Toulon, being distressed for water, sailed to an adjacent island for a supply; and, in the mean time, a great corn fleet, for

of-war, and immediately made themselves masters of the place. The duke de Roquelaure, who commanded in Languedoc, had but three troops of horse, and therefore he sent directly to the duke de Noailles for assistance, who, in the space of three days, brought nine hundred horse, and one thousand grenadiers into the neighbourhood of Agde; from whence they forced the enemy to retire immediately, with the loss of three or four hundred men. He confesses, however, that it was an affair of great consequence, since, if the English had become masters of that port, they might have been able to support the rebels in France, which must have brought the greatest miseries upon that kingdom. The most extraordinary thing, he tells us, is, that the French lost only one grenadier, and a few horses: but even this was too much for other French writers to own, and therefore they leave out the horses, and tell us, that the grenadier killed himself, his piece going off as it was slung at his back.

which they were waiting, took that opportunity to enter the port of Toulon.

On the 14th of August, Sir John Norris returned to Port Mahon, where he received the welcome news of the great victory of Saragossa. He then expected to have sailed on an expedition for the service of his Catholic majesty; but was disappointed, partly through some delay made by the troops in emharking, and partly by the haste the Dutch were in to return home; so that, finding it impracticable to do any further service for the present, he ordered most of his ships to be cleaned; which being performed, he sailed on the 30th of October from Port Mahon, and on the 6th of November he took three French ships from Newfoundland. After this, he secured the Turkey fleet, and then attempted to annoy the enemy in the Bay of Roses, where he met with such a storm, as drove the *Resolution* on shore, on the coast of Catalonia, near to Barcelona, where she was lost, notwithstanding all imaginable care to prevent it, and the rest of the fleet was forced into the harbour of Port Mahon. *

His Catholic majesty's affairs had by this time taken a new and unfavourable turn, and therefore his majesty wrote in pressing terms to Sir John Norris, in order to engage him to sail over to the Italian coast, to bring, with the utmost expedition, such troops as could be spared from thence for his service. Sir John sailed from Barcelona, and arrived on the 19th of March in the bay of Vado;† on the 22d following, the *Severn*, *Lion*, and *Lime*, made the signal of seeing four ships; upon which the admiral ordered the *Nassau* and *Exeter* to give them

* Burchet's Naval History, book v. chap. 31. Lediard's Naval History, vol. ii p. 346, 347. Annals of Queen Anne. London Gazette, No. 4820.

† *Mémoires Historique et Politique*, tom. i. p. 476. London Gazette, No. 4836.

chace, and upon hearing a great firing of guns, detached the Dartmouth and Winchelsea to their assistance. On the 27th, the Severn and Lime came into the road, and Captain Pudner, who commanded the former, gave Sir John Norris an account, that, in conjunction with the Lion and Lime, he had, the day before, engaged four French ships, from sixty to forty guns, for above two hours, and then the French crowded all the sail they could, and made away; the Severn, being disabled, returned with the Lime into Vado road; but Captain Galfridus Walpole, who commanded the Lion, continued the chace, though he had his right arm shot away, about forty men killed and wounded, and his ship much torn by the enemy's shot. The Exeter, commanded by Captain Raymond, came up with one of the Frenchmen, and, after a brisk engagement of above two hours, took her; but he was so disabled, that he was forced to let her go again. She proved to be the Pembroke, taken from us a year before, and which was, while in our service, a sixty-gun ship; but at this time she mounted no more than fifty. *

Sir John having given the necessary directions for embarking the troops on board an hundred and twenty transports, in order to escort them to Barcelona, received advice, while he was waiting for a wind, that Sir John Jennings was arrived at Port Mahon, in order to command in the Mediterranean. We have already, contrary to our usual method, carried this part of the history beyond the bounds of the year 1710, which was occasioned by a desire of preserving perspicuity, which otherwise could not have been so well done; and, for the same reason, we shall proceed with Sir John Norris's conduct, though it will carry us almost to the close of the year 1711: which, however, is better than breaking the thread of the nar-

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 774. Lediard's Naval History, vol. ii. p. 847. London Gazette, No. 4837.

ration, to resume it again at a great distance of time; and this, too, when all that can be said about it will fall within a very narrow compass.

He sailed from Vado for Port Mahon, in April; * but was forced by a storm into the road of Arasio, where, with great difficulty, he procured forage for the horses, and where he lay wind-bound till the 4th of May, and then proceeded to Barcelona, arrived there, and landed the troops on the 8th, where, having consulted with the duke of Argyle, and taken care to send a strong squadron to Genoa for the public money, he thought next of proceeding home with the Turkey trade; and, with that view, ordered Captain Cornwall to escort them to Gibraltar, or Lisbon, and there wait for his arrival. This being performed, he followed them as soon as the king of Spain's affairs would permit; and sailing with them under his convoy from Lisbon on the 15th of September, he arrived with them off the Isle of Wight the 8th of October, 1711, with four ships of the third-rate, seven of the fourth, three of the fifth, two bomb-vessels, two store-ships, and an hospital-ship; and from thence held on his course to the Downs, leaving the command of the fleet that continued in the Mediterranean to Sir John Jennings, of whose proceedings we shall speak in their proper place; but, at present, it is requisite that we should give an account, as we promised, of the expedition set on foot for restoring our affairs in Newfoundland. †

A.D. 1710. The check we had received the year before, had given

* Burchet's Naval History, book v. chap. 32. The Complete History of Europe, for 1711, p. 220; 221. London Gazette, No. 4844, 4846, 4861. There are various accounts of the loss sustained in this storm; the French reported it as very considerable; some say there were only three barks destroyed, two of which sunk at sea, and the other was forced by stress of weather to put into Marseilles.

† Burchet's Naval History, p. 775. Annals of Queen Anne, for the year 1711, vol. x. Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 571. London Gazette, No. 4912.

the ministry great disquiet. They found themselves, at this juncture, in a very critical situation, and were therefore under a kind of necessity of providing against any new clamours, which they were sensible would be set up, in case the French were not effectually rooted out in a place which so nearly affected our merchants, and upon which their commerce with Spain, Portugal, and Italy, so much depended. In order, therefore, to provide in the best manner possible for so important an undertaking, they made choice of two officers of great worth and experience, one of them to command the squadron, the other the land forces that were to be put on board it. The former was Captain George Martin, and the latter, Colonel Francis Nicholson, who was sent to Boston in New England, in order to provide every thing necessary for the expedition, and to draw together such forces as could be spared from that colony, so that they might be able to embark as soon as the squadron should arrive. *

This squadron consisted of the *Dragon*, a fifty-gun ship, commanded by Captain George Martin; the *Falmouth*, of fifty guns, by Captain Walter Rydel; the *Leostaff*, of thirty-two guns, by Captain George Gordon; the *Fever-sham*, of thirty-six guns, by Captain Robert Paston, and the *Star* bomb-ketch, by Captain Thomas Rochfort; to which was afterwards added, the *Chester*, a fifty-gun ship, commanded by Captain Thomas Matthews. Captain Martin arriving in New England, found all things properly adjusted for the execution of this enterprise against the French settlement, without delay; in consequence of

* * Burchet's Naval History, p. 765. *Columna Rostrata*, p. 294. Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, p. 468. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. i. p. 77. *Annals of Queen Anne*, vol. ix. p. 191. See the journal of an expedition performed by the forces of our sovereign Lady Anne, under the command of the Honourable Francis Nicholson, general and commander-in-chief, in the year 1710, for the reduction of Port Royal, in Nova Scotia, or any other place in those parts of America, then in possession of the French. London, 1711, 4to.

which, he proceeded from Nantasket road the 18th of September, with the Dragon, Falmouth, Leostaff, Fever-sham, and Star bomb-vessel, the Provence galley, two hospital-ships, thirty-one transports, and two thousand land forces, having sent the Chester before, to endeavour to intercept any supplies which the enemy might attempt to send to Port-Royal, in Nova Scotia; and on the 24th, in the afternoon, he anchored at the entrance of the harbour. A council of war was called, and, pursuant to what was agreed, the small embarkations and boats were gotten ready to receive the men, and put them on shore.*

Things being in this situation, on the 25th of September, about six in the morning, Colonel Vetch, and Colonel Reading, with fifty men each, together with Mr. Forbes, the engineer, went on shore to view the ground for landing the troops; and soon after, Colonel Nicholson himself, with a body of men, actually landed; the enemy firing at the boats in which they were, from their batteries of cannon and mortars, but with no great success. Colonel Vetch, with five hundred on the north side, so lined the shore, as that he protected the landing of the cannon, ammunition, and stores, and the mortar being fixed on board the bomb-vessel,* she driving up with the tide of flood, within cannon shot of the fort, both that day and the next, bombarded the enemy therein, which did in a

* This expedition, which was one of the most fortunate that we had undertaken in this part of the world, owed its success in a great measure to the conduct of Colonel Francis Nicholson, who maintained a perfect agreement with Commodore Martin, and the rest of the sea officers, who, on their part, omitted nothing that was demanded for the use of the troops, and supported them very cordially upon all occasions, with their boats and men. Another thing that contributed not a little to this happy event was, the troops being seasoned that were sent upon this expedition, and having officers well acquainted, not only with their duty, but with the climate, and situation of places, which, in affairs of this nature, are circumstances of the utmost consequence.

great measure induce them to capitulate, sooner than otherwise they would have done: not but that they were very much galled in the attempts made on them, and the warm fire from the artillery on shore; but the 28th, 29th, and 30th, the bomb-vessel was not able to throw any shells, by reason of hard gales of wind.*

At a council of war, holden on the 1st of October, two letters, which were received from Monsieur Subercase, directed to Colonel Nicholson, were taken into consideration, together with the answers which he had made thereunto; and the preliminaries being agreed on, the governor marching out of the fort, with the garrison,† our

* It may not be amiss to remark here, that this place, now Annapolis, has a very fine bason, capable of holding a large fleet; that it commands a valuable country, which settled, would prove a cover and protection to New England; and that it was at this juncture a nest of French privateers, and thence styled their American Dunkirk. These circumstances shew the value of this conquest.

† This capitulation is worth the reader's notice, inasmuch as it contains the terms upon which we were put in possession of the province of Arcadia, as the French call it, or, as we style it, the province of Nova Scotia. The articles were,

1. That the garrison shall march out with their arms and baggage, drums beating, and colours flying.

2. That there shall be a sufficient number of ships and provisions to transport the said garrison to Rochelle, or Rochfort, by the shortest passage; where they shall be furnished with passports for their return.

3. That I, Colonel Nicholson, may take out six guns, and two mortars, such as I shall think fit.

4. That the officers shall carry out all their effects of what sort soever; except they do agree to the selling of them, the payment of which to be *bona fide*.

5. That the inhabitants, within cannon-shot of the fort of Port-Royal, shall remain upon their estates, with their corn, cattle, and furniture, during two years, in case they are not desirous to go before; they taking the oaths of allegiance and fidelity to her sacred majesty of Great Britain.

6. That a vessel be provided for the privateers belonging to the islands of America, for their transportation thither.

troops took possession of it soon after, with drums beating, and colours flying; where hoisting the union flag, they, in honour of her majesty, called the place Annapol Royal; and a sufficient number of men being left therein, the ships and troops proceeded to New England as soon as all things necessary were settled; whence Captain Martin departed, not long after, in order to put in execution the remaining part of his instructions, and prepare for his return to England.

These were not all the misfortunes that befel the French in this part of the world, for our men-of-war and priva-

7. That those that are desirous to go for Placentia, in Newfoundland, shall have leave by the nearest passage.

8. That the Canadians, or those that are desirous to go thither, may, during the space of one year.

9. That the effects, ornaments, utensils of the chapel and hospital, shall be delivered to the almoner.

10. I promise to deliver the fort of Port-Royal into the hands of Francis Nicholson, Esq. for the queen of Great Britain, &c. within three days after the ratification of this present treaty; with all the effects belonging to the king, as guns, mortars, bombs, balls, powder, and all other small arms.

11. I will discover, upon my faith, all the mines, fougasses, and casemates.

12. All the articles of this present treaty shall be executed upon good faith, without difficulty, and signed by each other, at her majesty of Great Britain's camp, before Port-Royal fort, the 2d day of October, in the ninth year of her majesty's reign, *Annoque Domini* 1710.

FRANCIS NICHOLSON.
SUBLICASE.

Memorandum. The general declared, that within cannon-shot of Port-Royal, in the fifth article aforesaid, is to be understood, three English miles round the fort, to be henceforward called Annapolis Royal; and the inhabitants within the said three miles to have the benefit of that article. Which persons, male and female, comprehended in the said article, according to a list of their names given in to the general by Mr. Allen, amount to four hundred and eighty-one persons.

teers took this year near fifty of their ships. The Portland and the Valeur took, in their passage to Newfoundland, two very rich prizes, value thirty thousand pounds. But not long after, the Valeur was surprized in harbour, and taken by the French, and in the month of August, Captain John Aldred, in the Rochester; Captain Humphrey Pudner, in the Severn; and Captain George Purvis, in the Portland, visited all the French harbours on the north side of Newfoundland, and in a manner totally destroyed them.* Of all these transactions, however, the accurate father Daniel says not one word; and, indeed, as to the latter part of this relation Mr. Burchet is silent also, though it was certainly of very great consequence to the trade and interest of Great Britain.†

We are now to return home, in order to take notice of what happened here, relating to the affairs of the navy; and as these are commonly influenced by a total change in the ministry, it may not be amiss to observe, that, in the beginning of the month of August, the earl of Godolphin was removed from being lord high-treasurer, and that high

* The Complete History of Europe, for the year 1710, p. 588. Annals of the reign of Queen Anne, vol. ix. p. 424.

† An account of the execution done by this squadron.

HARBOURS NAMES. FRENCH SHIPS NAMES. MEN. GUNS. TONS.

La Couche	La Comtesse d'Evereux ..	75	16	200 taken.
Ditto	La Couronne	70	14	200 burnt.
Carouze	Le Marquis du Bay	20	28	400 taken.
Ditto	Le Compte de Bonrepos ..	120	23	400 burnt.
Ditto	L'Aigle Noire	70	12	200 taken.
Petit Maitre	François Maire	30	18	250 ditto.
Great St. Julian ...	François de la Paix	120	30	400 ditto.
Little St. Julian ...	St. Pierre	90	20	290 escaped.
Ditto	—————	30	12	— ditto.

All the fish, oil, stages, vats, boats, fishing-tackle, &c. of the above-mentioned ships fell into our hands, and were either taken or destroyed by us. And the two ships which escaped, left even their anchors and cables, and some of their sails behind.

office was put into commission. * This great change was quickly followed by others of the same nature; for, about six weeks after, Edward earl of Orford having resigned his place of first lord-commissioner of the admiralty, the queen appointed Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, George Doddington, Esq. Paul Methuen, Esq. and John Aislavie, Esq. lords-commissioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral of Great Britain. But this commission did not continue long in this situation, for, in the month of December, Sir James Wishart, and George Clarke, Esq. were appointed lords-commissioners of the admiralty, in the room of George Doddington, and Paul Methuen, Esqrs. †

The new parliament met on the 25th of November, and, on the 27th, the commons chose William Bromley, Esq. of Worcestershire, for their speaker. The queen, in her speech from the throne, recommended the carrying on the war in very pathetic terms, and the commons, in their address, promised her majesty to take proper care of it. Accordingly, on the 5th of December, they voted forty thousand men for the sea service, for the year 1711, and one hundred and twenty thousand pounds for the ordinary of the navy; on the 10th of February they voted, that the sum of five millions one hundred and thirty thousand five hundred and thirty-nine pounds five shillings and sixpence be granted for payment of the debts of the navy, and for services performed by them on account of land forces to Michaelmas, 1710, exclusive of the register-office; and, on the 20th of the said month, they resolved that one hundred and three thousand three hundred and three

* Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 552. Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 446. Conduct of Sarah, duchess dowager of Marlborough, p. 260.

† Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 553. The Complete History of Europe, for 1710, p. 570. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. xlix. p. 444. Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, p. 483.

pounds eleven shillings and four-pence be granted for the use of such proprietors, or inhabitants only, of Nevis and St. Christopher's, who were sufferers by the French invasion, and who have settled, or shall resettle their plantations in the said islands. * I do not well know, whether I ought to add, as an instance of the care of parliament in respect of our commerce, that this year an act was passed for incorporating a company to carry on a trade to the South-Seas. † While these regulations were making by the legislature, her majesty took care to provide for action; and in consequence thereof, appointed Sir John Leake, rear-admiral of Great Britain, to be admiral and commander-in-chief of her fleet, in the room of Matthew Aylmer, Esq.; at the same time she appointed Sir Thomas Hardy rear-admiral of the blue; and some time after, Sir George Byng was made admiral of the white. These necessary circumstances premised, we may now proceed to the naval operations of the next year. ‡

The grand fleet, under the command of Sir John Leake, had very little to do. It was intended for the defence of our coast, and for keeping the enemy in awe, which was very effectually performed; for the French king, from the many misfortunes he had met with, was utterly incapable of equipping any capital ships; and therefore, contenting himself with sending out, as he had done for some years past, small squadrons to annoy our trade, he seemed no longer to look on France as a maritime power. || Sir Thomas Hardy, rear-admiral of the blue, was sent with a strong squadron, consisting of four fourth-rates, two fifths,

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* Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 557, 563. Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, p. 480, 493. Chandler's Debates, vol. iv. p. 194, 199.

† Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 573. Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 459. London Gazette, No. 5860.

‡ The Complete History of Europe, for 1711, p. 79. Annals of Queen Anne, vol. ix. p. 335.

|| Burchet's Naval History, p. 789.

and two sixths, to block up the port of Dunkirk. On the 21st of May he arrived before that port, into which he forced two privateers of twenty guns each, and a dogger which carried eight; and this, notwithstanding the enemy's fire from the platform at the pier-head. While he was in this situation, he discovered in the bason four sixty-gun ships, and two smaller vessels, all unrigged, and had certain information of a small squadron that was fitting there for the sea; after which he cruized as carefully as he could, as well for that, as for the convoy from Brittany; but both, notwithstanding all his vigilance, escaped him.

On the 27th of June, an English man-of-war, called the *Advice*, commanded by Kenneth, Lord Duffus, was attacked in Yarmouth-Roads, by several French privateers.* His Lordship engaged them with great bravery, and did not give up his ship, which was a fourth-rate, of forty-six guns, till all his sails were torn to pieces, not a brace or bowline left, the shrouds cut away, two-thirds of his men killed and wounded, and his lordship had five balls in his body. The eight privateers that took him, brought the ship with great triumph into Dunkirk, where they most inhumanly stripped both officers and private men of their wearing apparel, and, but for the kindness of the inhabitants, had left them in a manner naked. Such was the brutal behaviour of these barbarous plunderers, and to such we must remain exposed, if that infamous nest of pirates, destroyed for the common safety of mankind, shall ever, through the weakness of our councils, be settled or fortified again.

On the 8th of August, Sir Thomas Hardy being in Yarmouth-Roads, with his squadron, received orders to proceed as far northwards as the islands of Orkney, in order

* *Columna Rostrata*, p. 390. The Complete History of Europe, for the year 1711. But the facts related in the text are taken chiefly from the London Gazette, No. 4872.

to secure the Russia trade, and to send some ships that were with him to the Downs; the admiralty having received certain intelligence, that M. de Saus, a French officer, had actually gotten to sea from Dunkirk, with four large ships, *viz.* one of fifty guns, one of twenty-eight, one of twenty-six, and one of twenty-four: in pursuance of these orders, Sir Thomas saw the Russia fleet, which was remarkably rich that year as far as Shetland; and then sending them forward with a proper convoy, he returned to the Downs, where he received orders to proceed westward, in quest of M. du Casse. While our ships were thus employed, a misfortune befel us upon our own coast; for M. de Saus, with his privateers, fell in with our Virginia fleet, which consisted of twenty-two sail, two of which were forced ashore, four escaped, and all the rest were taken.*

As soon as this news was carried to England, orders were sent to pursue the French squadron, and to prevent, if possible, their getting back to Dunkirk; but the Sientr Saus found means to rid himself of these attendants, though they were once within sight of him, and carried six of his prizes into Dunkirk, leaving the rest at Boulogne, Calais, and other ports on the coast.† Our cruizers and privateers repaired, in some degree, this misfortune, by the depredations they committed on the coasts of France, from which they brought a great number of small prizes; which, if they did not turn much to our benefit, were, however, a great prejudice to France, since most of them were laden with corn, and other provisions, of which at that juncture the people wereⁱⁿ great need. But it is now time to return to the proceedings of our squadrons in the Mediterranean, where, as we have before shewn, Sir John Jennings commanded in chief,

* Burchet's Naval History, b. v. chap. 34. Annals of Queen Anne, vol. x.

† Burchet, Journal Historique de Louis XIV. p. 273.

with a numerous fleet, of whose designs we shall now speak particularly, as they were the last that were formed during this war in those parts.

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1711.

The affairs of King Charles had suffered so severely since the battle lost at Villa Viciosa, that even his best friends almost despaired of retrieving them. It was, however, resolved to send thither a large naval force, to assist in whatever measures might be thought proper, either for restoring his hopes, or providing for the safety of his person. The duke of Argyle commanded the English troops, with circumstances equally honourable to himself, and shameful to those who suffered so many brave men to fall under such heavy misfortunes. The army was but thin ; and well it might be so, since General Stanhope had been besieged, and taken, with eight battalions, and as many squadrons, a few months before in the miserable hamlet of Brihuega. But this was not all ; the regiments, thin as they were, were also ragged and starving, having no credit but what his grace procured for them, who soon brought things into better order, and his very little army under good discipline. In short, he appeared there, what he appeared every where, not only a brave man and an active officer ; not barely a great general, or an able statesman, but a friend to mankind, and a lover of his country. He fed the hungry, he clothed the naked, he stopped desertion ; not by severities, but by convincing his soldiers that they could be used nowhere so well ; insomuch that when Sir John Jennings arrived at Barcelona with his fleet, in the latter end of March, he found things on the mending hand. *

* Bishop Burnet, indeed, has given a very different account of this matter. " The business of Spain had been so much pressed from the throne, and so much insisted on all this session, and the commons had given one million five hundred thousand pounds, for that service, a sum far beyond all that had been granted in any preceding session, so that it was expected matters would have been carried there in another manner than formerly. The duke of

After performing some few necessary services, it was resolved, that the fleet should cruize off Toulon, in order to intercept the supplies which the enemy expected from Languedoc, and their corn-fleet from the Levant. While he was in this station, he received orders from England, to return immediately to the coast of Catalonia, that he might be ready to carry the king of Spain to Genoa, or where else he should desire; * his majesty, by the death of his brother, the Emperor Joseph, being lately become sole heir of all the dominions of the house of Austria. He was likewise directed to afford all the assistance possible to the kingdom of Naples, in case any commotion should happen there at this juncture; and accordingly he repaired to Barcelona, to consult his majesty and the duke of Argyle, as to the most proper method of executing these orders, having first detached two men-of-war of the

“ Argyle was sent to command the queen’s troops there, and he
 “ seemed full of heat; but all our hopes failed. The duke of Ven-
 “ dome’s army was in so ill a condition, that if Staremberg had been
 “ supported, he promised himself great advantages. ” It does not yet
 “ appear, what made this to fail, for the parliament has not yet taken
 “ this into examination. It is certain, the duke of Argyle did
 “ nothing; neither he nor his troops were once named during the
 “ whole campaign. He wrote over very heavy complaints, that he
 “ was not supported, by the failing of the remittances that he ex-
 “ pected; but what ground there was for that, does not yet appear;
 “ for, though he afterwards came over, he was very silent, and seemed
 “ in a good understanding with the ministers.” The last words of
 this amazing piece of history sufficiently explain it. The duke of
 Argyle agreed with that ministry, with whom the prelate could not
 agree. He complained of the condition in which he found the troops,
 which was owing to the avarice of some low instruments of the old
 ministry, and he made no complaints against the new, because he
 was sensible they supplied him as well as they were able; but he dif-
 fered from them afterwards, when he saw just cause for it; and
 indeed, through his whole life, he was particularly remarkable for
 keeping up a spirit suitable to his birth, quality, and that most illus-
 trious title, by which the greatest patriots in Scotland had, through a
 long series of years, been distinguished.

* London Gazette, No. 4841, 4881.

third, one of the fourth, and one of the fifth-rate, to cruize on the coast of Naples, with orders to assist the subjects of the house of Austria, if any attempts should be made for reducing the garrisons of Orbitello, or Piombino. *

On his arrival there, he found the king not at all inclined to quit Catalonia, till such time as he had advice of his being elected emperor, in which he was promised all the assistance that could be afforded him by the high allies ; and, on the other hand, he found his majesty equally unwilling to part with this fleet, upon which all his hopes depended. Sir John Jennings contented himself, therefore, with sailing from Barcelona, on the 13th of July, for Port Mahon, where he arrived on the 18th, having first of all promised the king of Spain, to return as soon as the ships were refitted, and he had taken in a proper supply of provisions, which began to grow very scarce ; and this promise he exactly performed by the 26th, when we find him again in the road of Barcelona, with one second, five third, and one fourth rate, besides seven Dutch men-of-war, under the command of Vice-admiral Peterson, having ten other ships, most of the line, abroad on necessary service. When these had joined him, he took the king of Spain on board, having then a fleet of twenty-four ships of war, and landed him in ten days time at Genoa ; whence the admiral sailed to Leghorn, being in great want of cables and other stores, in order to procure such as the place would afford ; and while he was there, two of our captains brought in two rich prizes from the Levant. †

His excellency continued in that port to the 2d of November, when he sailed for Vado Bay, and having em-

* Burchet's Naval History, book v. chap. 36. The Complete History of Europe, for 1711. London Gazette, No. 4836.

† Burchet's Naval History, *ubi supra*. The Complete History of Europe, for 1711, p. 363. Annals of Queen Anne, vol. x. p. 76. London Gazette, No. 4908, 4914, 4915, 4919, 4927.

barked the forces that were ready to proceed for Catalonia, he sent them under the protection of five men-of-war and two fire-ships, to Barcelona, under the command of Captain Swanton, with whose squadron, and three Dutch ships of war, the admiral sailed as far westward as Cape Roses; and was then to repair to Port Mahon, where Captain Swanton was ordered to join him, as soon as he had seen the transports in safety, that the admiral might be able to make a detachment for protecting the coasts of Portugal; as also some ships to cruize in the Straits mouth, for the security of our trade. When the admiral had made the Island of Minorca, the wind blew excessively hard from the north-east, which obliged him to come to an anchor on the north side of the island, where most of the ships sails blew away from their yards; but he got, however, the next day into Port Mahon. On his arrival, he was informed, by the captains of two ships he found there, that they had heard a great firing of guns all the night before; upon which he sent the *Chatham* and *Winchelsea*, the next morning, to see what they could discover; who soon brought an account, that the Dutch vice-admiral, with his squadron, was in the offing, together with four British ships.*

These ships of ours were the *Hampton Court*, commanded by Captain Mighells; the *Stirling Castle*, the *Nottingham*, the *Charles* galley, and the *Lynn*, which came from the coast of Catalonia, and in their passage had fallen in with two French men-of-war, the *Thoulouse*, and the *Trident*, each of fifty guns, and four hundred men. The *Hampton Court* came up with the first of them, and engaged her two hours, to whose commander, by the time the *Stirling Castle* was within musket-shot, which was about ten at night, she struck; but by the advantage of

* Burchet's *Naval History*, p. 795. Lediard's *Naval History*, vol. ii. *Annals of Queen Anne*. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. lii. p. 132. *London Gazette*, No. 4891.

little winds, the Trident got away with her oars. The Hampton Court's masts being much wounded in the fight, they, by the violence of the weather, came next day all by the board, so that she was towed into port by the Stirling Castle. The first captain of the Thoulouse, was M. Grand Pre, and the second captain, one Rigby, an Englishman, who had formerly bore command in our fleet. From the former of them the admiral accepted his parole of honour for six months; but the latter he detained, although M. Grand Pre assured him he was naturalized in France, and was become a Roman Catholic; but some way or other he found means to escape, and it was believed he got on board a ship bound for Genoa, which lay in the harbour of Mahon. * About the same time, the Restoration, a ship of seventy guns, was lost on the back side of the Mallora, off Leghorn, but all her officers and men were saved; nor fell it out better with a settee, that had on board to the value of four thousand crowns, which she was bringing from one of the ports of Corsica. †

The French having at present no fleet in the Mediterranean, the admiral was at liberty to employ his ships in such a manner, as might best answer the purpose of protecting Catalonia, and incommoding the enemy; which he accordingly did, till toward the end of the year he received advice, that the French were busy at Toulon, in fitting

* I have not been able to recover any further particulars as to these captures, though I have taken all the pains I could to inquire after them. This Rigby had made himself very infamous before he left England, having been long in Newgate, and having received sentence for a most scandalous crime at the Old Bailey. Yet he was preferred in France for his skill in the marine, and might, after this misfortune, have passed his time with ease at least, if not reputation; but his expenses were so large, that, as I have been informed, he brought upon himself the just reward of a life so wickedly spent; and is therefore a fit warning to all such renegadoes as prefer the increase of their private fortune, to the honour or welfare of their country.

† Burchet's Naval History, p. 796. London Gazette, No. 4934.

out a considerable force, which was to put to sea in the spring, of which the admiral took all the care he could to be particularly informed, and at last received a certain account, that this squadron was to consist of eleven or twelve ships, of which eight were of the line, and three or four were frigates; that they were to proceed first to Cadiz, and thence to the West Indies. * Upon this, the admiral, on the 21st of February, held a council of war, in which, upon a strict examination, it was found, that the ships under his command, could not put to sea till supplied with provisions from Italy; and therefore a frigate was despatched to Vice-admiral Baker, then at Lisbon, with this intelligence, that he might strengthen the convoy of the store-ships and victuallers sent thence; and, at the same time, it was resolved, that as soon as the English and Dutch ships arrived from Italy, the admiral should cruize between Port Mahon and Cape de Gatt, not only for the protection of the convoy, but in order to intercept the enemy.

This necessary supply of provisions and naval stores, arriving safe at Port Mahon; and the admiral having intelligence from all sides, of the great naval preparations of the enemy; it was determined in a council of war, holden on the 11th of March, to put to sea with one second, three third, two fifth-rate, and two fire-ships of ours, and nine ships of the States-general, and to cruize ten or twelve leagues from Cape Toulon, until more certain advice of the enemy could be had. Captain Walpole, in the *Lion*, joining the fleet from Genoa, and informing them, that he had seen in his passage nine tall ships to the N. W. of the Island of Minorca; it was resolved in a council of war, holden on the 23d of March, to proceed to the southward of Majorca and Ivica, in order to intercept the enemy, if it were possible, between that and

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 796. Lediard, vol. ii. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. liii. p. 410.

Cape St. Martin, in their passage down the Straits. Obtaining, however, no further intelligence, he came to an anchor on the 1st of April, off the Island of Formentara, whence he sent two clean ships to look into the bays of Denea, Xabea, and Altea, as also into Alicant road; and, in case they brought him no advice, it was determined to sail immediately to Barcelona. This was accordingly done, and on his arrival there, and hearing nothing of the French, he sent a clean frigate to look into the harbour of Toulon, in order to discover what they were doing there, with a resolution, upon the return of that ship, to proceed to Port Mahon, there to re-victual, and then to stand over to the Italian coast, in order to bring from thence a new supply of troops to Catalonia. *

We are now to proceed to an account of what was done this year in the West Indies, where, when we spoke last of affairs in those parts, we left Commodore Littleton with a strong squadron under his command. This gentleman was extremely well qualified for this station; he had all the abilities and experience that could be wished for in a sea officer, and yet was as ready to ask, and receive advice, as if he had neither. On his first arrival in those parts, which was in the month of November, 1710, he took all the care that was possible to obtain proper intelligence of the motions of the galleons, which were still at Carthagena; and, at the same time, he neglected nothing that the merchants thought requisite, either for the security of their trade in those parts, or for the safe convoy of such ships as from time to time were sent home; so that during his stay at Jamaica, there were few or no complaints, but every body studied to mind his own business, and to discharge, when called upon, his duty in the public service.

* Burchet. Complete History of Europe, for the year 1712. Life of Queen Anne, Memoirs of the War in Spain, &c.

The desire of taking the galleons, was what principally occupied the thoughts of the commodore, and as he was frequently perplexed with false intelligence, he stationed the *Nonsuch* and the *Roebuck*, on the Spanish coast, giving orders to Captain Hardy, who commanded the former, to despatch the *Roebuck* to Jamaica, with any certain intelligence he could obtain, either as to the time when it was proposed the galleons should sail, or the strength of the convoy that was to accompany them. These orders were faithfully executed, though very little intelligence, except that the galleons had as yet no convoy, could, for many months, be procured.

In 1711, the commodore received an account from the masters of some vessels from Madeira, that M. du Casse, with a squadron under his command, had been seen from that island. Soon after, a Spanish sloop was taken, in which was a letter from the governor of Carthage, expressing his hopes, that M. du Casse would shortly arrive with seven sail of stout ships, in order to convoy the galleons. Upon this, the commodore immediately sent an advice-boat to recal the *Nonsuch*, and, in the mean time, began to prepare for an expedition, resolving not to lose this opportunity of attacking the French squadron, and having a chance for making prize of some of the galleons. *

A.D.
1711.

The *Jersey*, commanded by Captain Vernon, was then cruising to the windward of Jamaica, and having taken a French ship belonging to the port of Brest, which carried thirty guns, and one hundred and twenty men, he carried her into Jamaica, on the 23d of May. The captain of this vessel informed the commodore, that he had been trading on the coast of New Spain, whence, proceeding to Port Lewis, in Hispanolia, where he put on shore the money he had taken, he was sailing from thence to Petit Guavas, in order to take in there a cargo

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 711, 712.

for France, when he fell into the hands of Captain Vernon. He added, that he sailed from Port Louis on the 20th, in company with M. du Casse, who was gone for Carthagena, and that his squadron consisted of one ship of seventy-four guns, another of sixty, one of fifty, one of twenty-four, and one of twenty; but Captain Hardy arriving on the 27th, assured Mr. Littleton, that two ships of the French squadron, one of which was the Gloucester, of fifty guns, formerly taken from us, and another of forty-four, arrived at Carthagena, ten days before, and waited for M. du Casse, who designed, as soon as the galleons could be ready, to sail with them for the Havannah, and from thence to Cadiz.

Upon this, Captain Vernon was sent over to the coast of New Spain; and returning on the 1th of July, reported, that on the 28th of June, he had looked into the port of Carthagena, where he saw twelve ships, six rigged, and six unrigged, and five sloops; the six ships that were rigged, he informed the commodore, were the St. Michael, of seventy-four guns; the Hercules, of sixty; the Griffin, of fifty; two small frigates, and the vice-admiral of the galleons, which carried sixty guns; and that, of the ships that were unrigged, there were two at the upper end of the harbour, preparing for sea, one of which he believed to be the Minion, of fifty guns, and another of forty, the rest he took to be trading vessels. *

Upon the 15th of July, the commodore sailed with one third-rate, four fourth-rates, and a sloop † for Carthagena;

* Burchet's Naval History, book v. chap. xx. Columna Rostrata, p. 293. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. li. p. 433.

† The commodore hoisted his broad pennant in the *Defiance*; and the ships that sailed with him, were the *Salisbury*, *Salisbury's* prize, *Jersey*, *Nonsuch*, and *Jamaica* sloop. In their passage, the *Salisbury's* prize sprung her main-mast, which occasioned some delay, till it could be secured, and then they proceeded; Captain Vernon, in the *Jersey*, having been sent, while the rest of the squadron lay by, to look into Carthagena.

and arriving on the coast of New Spain on the 26th, he discovered five ships to the leeward, which he chased into Boca Chica, at the entrance of Carthagena harbour. Upon this, he stood off to sea the greatest part of the night; but stretching in to the shore next morning, chased four ships, and about six came up with the vice-admiral of the galleons, and a Spanish merchant ship; and as M. du Casse had taken most of the money out of the galleon, having some suspicion of the commanding officer on board her; so was this very carrack the same which had escaped from Mr. Wager, as hath been before related; and coming from Carthagena, in company with some French ships of war, it happened she was separated from them, and believing our ships to be those with M. du Casse, as her commander said, lay by the greatest part of the day, and when Mr. Littleton came near, hoisted Spanish colours, and a flag at the fore-top-mast-head, so that between five and six at night, the Salisbury's prize, commanded by Captain Robert Harland, engaged her; soon after which, the Salisbury, commanded by Captain Francis Hosier, did the same. *

The commodore being within pistol shot, was just going to fire into her when they struck their colours; and the Jersey, going after one of the merchant ships, took her; the Nonsuch chasing the other, she escaped in the night. The vice-admiral of the galleons, being wounded by a small shot, died soon after. M. du Casse had taken most of the money out of the galleon, except what was found in some boxes which belonged to private persons. She had sixty brass guns mounted, and three hundred and

* It is of consequence where we can come at such distinct relations as this is, for the use of young officers, to whom they are acceptable. It would be of service, and indeed of great service, if a distinct and clear narrative of every expedition, drawn, or at least signed by the commanding officer, was deposited in the admiralty, as well as a sea journal.

twenty-five men; and the ship which the Jersey took, was a vessel belonging to the merchants, of about four hundred tons, and twenty-six guns, laden for the most part with cocoa and wool. The prisoners, by the description given to them of the ships which were seen by the commodore, the day he came off of Carthagena, assured him, they were those with M. du Casse, and that he had been out of Carthagena but two days, being separated from the Spanish vice-admiral, and nine merchant ships, the day after he came out; and since Mr. Littleton was well assured that he intended to touch at the Havannah, it was determined to cruize a little to the leeward of Point Pedro shoals, as the most proper place for intercepting them, until such time as further intelligence could be gained from Captain Hook, of the Jamaica sloop, who was sent over to the coast with some Spanish prisoners. *

About this time the French formed a very memorable design of attacking the Leeward Islands, and this, with the natural strength of their own colonies; for which purpose they assembled, in the month of May and June, about two thousand men in Martinico; these they embarked on board the following vessels, *viz.* a large ship, of thirty-six guns, a hag-boat of twenty-four guns, two merchant ships and nine privateer sloops. They put to sea on the 10th of June, with an intent to land on the island of Antigua; but they were scarcely clear of their own island, before they met with her majesty's ship the Newcastle, commanded by Captain Bourn, who attacked them so briskly, that, notwithstanding it was a calm, and

* This account is taken from the commodore's letter, dated on board the *Defiance*, in Port Royal harbour, August 13, 1711. He says, in the same letter, that he had but one man killed, and six wounded in the engagement; and though neither he, nor any of our historians, insist much on the value of this capture, yet a Dutch writer informs us, that the two prizes, with the effects on board them, were worth one hundred thousand pounds.

they lay in such a manner, as that it was impossible for him to bring his broadside to bear upon them ; yet, after an action of three hours, in which the French lost sixty-four men, he obliged them to relinquish their enterprize, and to take the opportunity of the first little breeze that sprung up, to return into one of the ports of their own islands.

Unwilling, however, absolutely to abandon their design, they refitted their vessels, and beat up for volunteers, and, on the 16th, landed near fifteen hundred men on the island of Montserrat; they disembarked these troops about twelve at night, and began to plunder the adjacent country; but being informed that Captain Bourn sailed from thence that very day, and was expected again the next, they embarked in such a hurry, that they left fifteen or twenty of their men behind them, who were made prisoners by the inhabitants of the island, and thus ended this project, through the courage and conduct of this worthy commander. The French, however, did not escape totally unchastised for this mischief; for Captain Lisle, in her majesty's ship the *Diamond*, having notice of their situation, and suspecting that some of their transports would very soon put to sea, kept cruising, together with the *Panther*, and another of her majesty's ships, at a small distance from the coast, and, in a short time, took three of them, besides other prizes, so that the enemy were effectually cured of their inclinations to make descents for this year. *

To return now to Commodore Littleton, who having sent away the homeward-bound trade in the month of August, under the convoy of the *Nonsuch*, returned again to his cruising station, in the latter end of the same month.

* See Captain Bourn's letter, dated from Carlisle Bay, in Barbadoes, July 17, 1711, and two letters from Captain Lisle, the first dated July 22, and the second July 30, 1711; the former from Antigua, and the latter from St. Christopher, in the *London Gazette*, No. 4906.

He had not been long at sea, before the captain of the *Medway's* prize, whom he had sent to *Blewfield's Bay* in *Jamaica*, brought him advice, that the master of a trading vessel had lately made oath before *Lord Archibald Hamilton*, then governor of *Jamaica*, that eighteen French men-of-war, having a large number of transports with soldiers under their convoy, arrived lately at *Martinico*, from which it was believed, they would very speedily sail, to make an attempt upon *Jamaica*. This intelligence induced the commodore to sail instantly back to the island, where the governor assured him, there was not a word of truth in the story. This accident, however, had a very ill effect, since at that very instant *M. du Casse*, with his squadron, got safe into the *Havannah*, which he could not possibly have done, if the commodore had kept his station. It may be believed, this disappointment gave him infinite disturbance, but it did not, however, hinder his cruizing for some time off the *Havannah*, in hopes of repairing this disaster; in which he did not succeed. *

Upon his return to *Jamaica*, he found the *Thetis*, a French man-of-war, lately taken, arrived from *New England*; and soon after *Captain Lestock*, in the *Weymouth*, from the same place, with a small privateer, which he had taken on the coast of *Porto Rico*, in his passage. There were at this time many merchant ships ready to sail home, with whom the commodore sent the *Anglesea*, *Fowey*, and *Scarborough*; the last-mentioned ship had been taken from the French by the two former, upon the coast of *Guinea*, where, not long before, the French had taken her from us. Thus ended the operations of the naval campaign for this year in the *West Indies*. †

But, before we leave *America*, it is necessary that we should enter into a circumstantial account of that famous

* Burchet's *Naval History*, p. 715. *British Empire in America*, vol. ii. p. 345.

† Burchet, p. 715, 716. *Annals of Queen Anne*, &c.

expedition against the French settlements in Canada, which makes so great a figure in the French histories, and on which we find so many reflections made in our own; the subject indeed is both intricate and unpleasant, but, withal, it is extremely necessary to set it in a clear light; since, notwithstanding its miscarriage, through a concurrence of unforeseen, as well as unlucky accidents, it was certainly one of the best intended, and very far from being one of the worst contrived, designs that was set on foot during this war; and, therefore, we hope the reader will not think an impartial relation of the whole affair unworthy of his attention. *

The disturbance given us by the French in North America, and the apprehensions our colonies were under, from the strength of their settlements in Canada, have been so often mentioned, that I think I need not insist upon them here: I shall content myself therefore with observing, that the earl of Godolphin had often expressed a strong desire of attempting something of consequence in this part of the world, that might exalt our own character, and humble the haughtiness of the enemy. Sir Hovenden Walker informs us, that he was consulted by that great minister, in reference to this design; yet I very much doubt, whether the whole of it was then communicated to him, since it is very certain, that it was not either he, or General Hill, who was to have been employed in the expedition, as it was then intended; but Sir Thomas Hardy was to have commanded the fleet, and the land forces were to have been under General Maccartney. It has been remarked by Bishop Burnet, and some other writers, that the whole of this design was con-

* At this distance of time, when the parties are all dead, and the circumstances of things so altered, as to leave no room for either prepossessions or prejudices, one may hope, that a candid inquiry into so very important an expedition, will merit the favour, as well as claim the attention, of every judicious reader, for many reasons.

certed without any application to, or consent of parliament; and this, that prelate says, was the more inexcusable, because it was contrived and carried into execution, at a time when the parliament was sitting. *

The force of this objection, I must confess, I do not see; for if expeditions of such a nature, with all the estimates of expenses necessary for rendering them effectual, were to be laid before parliament before they could be undertaken; I think it must be obvious to every intelligent reader, that this would afford such an opportunity of opposing designs of this nature at home, and making all the world acquainted with them abroad, that it would be afterwards seldom advisable to execute them. But there is another remark made by Mr. Burchet, which appears to have a better foundation. He says, that this design was industriously concealed from the lords of the admiralty, as long as it was possible, and that at last they were trusted only with the executive part, and not at all with the direction; for otherwise, he thinks, it must have been impossible that such large ships should have been ordered for an expedition into the river St. Lawrence, which was well known to their lordships to be so hazardous a navi-

* The bishop's account runs thus; "An expedition was designed by sea, for taking Quebec and Placentia, and, for that end, five thousand men were brought from Flanders. Hill, who was brother to the favourite, had the command. There was a strong squadron of men-of-war ordered to secure the transport fleet; they were furnished from hence with provisions, only for three months; but they designed to take in a second supply at New England. A commissioner of the victualling then told me, he could not guess what made them to be sent out so ill furnished, for they had stores lying on their hands for a full supply."—Mr. Oldmixon writes with less resentment; he attributes this project originally to Governor Nicholson, and I believe with truth; he says, the four Indian chiefs, who were brought over hither, and presented to the queen, solicited it strongly; and, in fine, that it had been certainly a very good project, if it had fallen into good hands. But, he insinuates, that it was made a job; the contrary of which, I think, will appear by the citation in the next note.

gation, and for which, therefore, ships of such a burden were altogether unfit. *

This remark, I say, has greater weight with me, because it plainly proves, that how right soever the intention of a ministry may be, in endeavouring to preserve an absolute secrecy as to designs of this sort; yet, in case of any miscarriage, their conduct will be always liable to great imputations, where they avoid communicating their councils to such branches of the administration, as seem to have a right to regulate and direct them. †

* How far the following account of this matter, taken from a letter of Mr. Secretary St. John to Sir Hovenden Walker, dated April 17, 1711, will obviate even this objection, I must leave to the reader; with this observation, however, that if the sentiments contained in it were not sincere, the writer must have been the greatest dissembler in the world.—“The Humber and Devonshire will proceed with you, of those which are ordered to cruise in the Soundings, it will not, I doubt, be possible for you to be joined by any. The lords of the admiralty, you find, look on these additional ships as given you for the expedition, and it is fit they should do so; but when you are got far enough into the sea, you are to send back two of the ten sail, and if you find any of the eight first, appointed to compose your squadron, not fit for the voyage, as the Torbay is reported not to be, you may, in such case, send home the ship which is unfit, taking which you shall like best of the two additional ships in lieu of her. The messenger who brings this packet, is ordered to stay till dispatched back again by Mr. Hill and yourself. I must tell you, that I find her majesty extremely impatient to hear you are sailed, and concerned lest you should lose the advantage of this easterly wind. I hope, therefore, by the return of the messenger, you will inform me exactly when you shall be ready to proceed. I have nothing more to add, but to recommend all possible expedition to you, upon which, morally and probably speaking, your success entirely depends. That you may have a prosperous voyage, and be, together with Mr. Hill, the instruments of doing so much honour, and bringing so much advantage to your country, as are proposed by the attempt you are ordered to make, is the hearty prayer of,

“SIR, your, &c.”

† One may fairly collect from this, that the ministers who concerted this scheme, were not only thoroughly in earnest, but also extremely sanguine in respect of its success, otherwise they would never have

NAVAL HISTORY

In respect of this design upon Quebec, it seems to have been principally under the direction of the Lord Viscount *Bolingbroke*, then Mr. Secretary St. John, by whose interest, I suppose, Sir Hovenden Walker, rear-admiral of the white, was appointed to command in chief, and General Hill, who was brother to Lady Masham, was likewise appointed commander of about five thousand land forces, that were to be employed in this design. As it was the first, and indeed the only great undertaking of the new ministry, I cannot believe but that they were in earnest, and really in hopes of raising their reputation, by giving an extraordinary blow to the French power in those parts; which I conceive must evidently appear, if we consider the great force employed for this purpose, and which will be best made known to the reader, by giving him Sir Hovenden Walker's line of battle, as we find it in the appendix to his own account.

SHIPS.	COMMANDERS.	MEN.	GUNS.
Torbay	Captain Moody....	500 ..	80
Monmouth	Mitchell ..	400 ..	70
Sunderland	Gore.....	365 ..	60
Diamond	Lisle.....	190 ..	40
Devonshire	Airis.....	320 ..	80
Edgar.....	Sir Hovenden Walker } Captain Soans .. }	440 ..	70
Humber	Culliford ..	520 ..	80
Montague.....	Walton....	365 ..	60
Kingston	Winder ..	365 ..	60
Swiftsure	Cooper....	400 ..	70
Dunkirk	Butler	365 ..	60

Together with the Bedford-Galley frigate, Basilisk and Granada bombs, with the Experiment, the bombs tender.

taken this method; and sure there was nothing criminal, in desiring to recover Canada out of the hands of the French, or in proposing for the protection and security of our own colonies, to drive them entirely out of North America, which was the avowed design of this enterprize, and would have been a signal benefit to Great Britain.

There were, besides, thirty-three transports, with the regiments of Brigadier Hill, Colonel Windress, Colonel Clayton, Colonel Kane, Lieutenant-general Seymour, Colonel Disney, Colonel Kirk, and a battalion of marines, under the command of Colonel Charles Churchill, making in all upwards of five thousand men, and eight transports and tenders belonging to the train. *

The instructions given by her majesty to Sir Hovenden Walker, required him, as soon as the general and troops were embarked to proceed to Boston directly, without touching at any place whatsoever; and, if he judged it convenient, he was to detach, in his passage, a ship of war, with the artillery, stores, clothes, and other necessities, to New York; but, if he found this inexpedient, he was to send them from Boston. On his arrival at that place, he was to take the Leopard and Saphire under his command, and in case the general thought it necessary, he was to assist him in exchanging the garrison of Annapolis Royal, and in transporting the old garrison, with stores, back to New England. He was, when at Boston, to take under his care all transport vessels, ketches, hoys, boats, and other necessities provided in New England; and as soon as the forces from hence, and those raised there, should be on board, he was to sail with them all into the river of St. Laurence, up to Quebec, in order to attack that place; and being arrived, to make a proper disposition of the ships for that purpose, as well of such as might be fit to employ before the town, as others, upon consulting with the general, to pass that place, and proceed up the river towards the lake, not only to prevent any communication with Quebec, but to protect the canoes, and boats, with the forces from New York; to which end he was empowered to convert some of the small vessels sent from hence, or New England, into frigates,

* See the appendix to Sir Hovenden Walker's full account of the

suitable to the navigation of the upper part of the river, and to man and arm them accordingly. At New England, or elsewhere, he was to assist the general with vessels and boats proper for landing the forces, and embarking them again, but more especially upon his arrival at Quebec, or for transporting them from place to place. He was also ordered to send to the general such marine soldiers as should be on board the squadron, when he should demand the same, which he was to have the chief command of while employed on shore; besides which, he was to assist him with such a number of seamen, gunners, guns, ammunition, and other stores from the ships, as he should demand for the land service, which seamen were to assist in drawing and mounting the cannon, or otherwise, as should be found necessary. He was strictly required to lose no time in proceeding to New England, and from thence to the river St. Laurence; nor in putting in execution the service of Quebec: but that, on his part, all expedition should be used in the reduction of the place, and of the country of Canada, or New France, and in the seasonable return of the squadron and transports. *

He was further instructed, which shews that this design had been very thoroughly considered, in case of success, to leave such a naval force as he thought proper in the river St. Lawrence, and to make use of any of the enemy's ships that might be taken, to bring into Europe such governors, regular troops, religious persons, or others whom the general, by his instructions was directed to send away from Canada, with whatever necessaries for their transportation he should think requisite. These services being provided for, he was to take on board the general, if he should think fit to return, and such of the forces as should not be found necessary to live in Canada; and, if

* See the instructions at large, in the before-mentioned appendix, p. 166.

the season of the year would permit, he was to proceed to attack Placentia, in Newfoundland, in such a manner as General Hill should direct; and this service being over, he was to order such ships of war as did not properly belong to his squadron, to their several stations, directing the masters of the transports, which he should have no further occasion for, to go and seek freight, either in ports upon the continent of America, or in the islands, in order to ease the public of the charge of them, and for the benefit of the British commerce. *

On the 29th of April, 1711, Sir Hovenden Walker sailed with the men-of-war and transports under his command; but coming off the Start the 1st of May, a westerly wind obliged him to put into Plymouth; † from whence

A.D.
1711.

* Besides these instructions, the admiral was furnished with copies of those sent to the respective governors of Massachusetts's bay, and New Hampshire; the additional instructions sent to the governor of New York, as well as those to Francis Nicholson, Esq. and the governors of Connecticut, Rhode Island, Providence, and Pennsylvania, that he might be convinced the administration had taken all the care in their power, that he might not fail for want of proper assistance, or be in any doubt as to what was, or was not in the power of such persons as he, in the course of his expedition, might have occasion to apply to; which, without doubt, was very useful, and highly proper in his circumstances.

† As I have all along endeavoured to treat every subject that fell in my way as impartially as possible, so I think it my duty to give the reader here a letter from Lord Bolingbroke to the admiral, which, I think, evidently proves, that minister had this design as much at heart as any man in his station could have.

“ SIR,

“ The wind being come about to the south, I take it for granted, that this letter will find you at Plymouth, or at Torbay, the usual bane of our maritime expeditions. You must allow me to tell you, that the queen is very uneasy at the unaccountable loss of time in your stay at Portsmouth; and, if the Devonshire could not be refitted sooner, you ought rather to have left her behind, than delay your sailing. If the transports were the occasion of this misfortune, the commissioners, or masters of them are to blame, and should be complained of. I take it for granted, if you continue any time wind bound, that you will be stopped for good and all;

he sailed again in two days time, and continued his voyage very happily toward New England, where he arrived on the 24th of June, without any other accident, than two of his captains disobeying his orders, *viz.* Captain Soans, of the *Edgar*, and Captain Butler, in the *Dunkirk*; they had both chaced without signal, and left the fleet, notwithstanding the strict injunction of the admiral, grounded on his instructions to the contrary. As Captain Soans had joined the fleet again the next day, he was only mulcted three months pay; but Captain Butler having never been seen by the fleet, till their arrival at Nantasket, near Boston, was discharged and dismissed from his command. *

The admiral was far from meeting, in New England, with that hearty zeal for the service which he expected; for being obliged to take up a great quantity of provisions for the service of the fleet and transports, he found the utmost difficulty therein, as appears very clearly from the authentic papers inserted, or annexed by way of appendix to his account. From these it is evident, that the person who was depended upon for that service, not only refused it, but endeavoured to serve his private interest, at the

“ and the whole expense and trouble will be thrown away; and that
 “ we shall make as little of our fleet this year, as we have done in
 “ former summers. In case providence will carry us forward in spite
 “ of our teeth; I hope the last delay will be a warning to you, and
 “ that you will improve to-day, instead of depending upon to-morrow.
 “ If any thing is to be ordered, or done here, let me know by ex-
 “ press, and there shall be as much expedition used, as I wish there
 “ had been at Portsmouth. I have sent to Colleby, to go wherever
 “ you are driven back, that this part of the service may have the due
 “ care taken of it.

“ Whitehall, May 1, 1711.

I am, SIR, &c.”

* The sentences of these courts-martial are in the appendix to Sir Hovenden Walker's account; where, in that of Captain Thomas Butler it is said, that he separated from the fleet on the 28th of May, in order to chase a small ship which he took, and applied the produce for his own private advantage, by which he was guilty of a positive breach both of orders and discipline.

expense of the public, by buying up great quantities on his own account, in order to vend them again to wh ever should undertake to supply the fleet; so that by the slowness of the colony, and the avarice of this particular person, the whole expedition was ruined. *

The admiral and general did all that was in their power, by memorials and solicitations, to remedy this inconvenience; but to little or no purpose, since the inhabitants were extremely sensible of their own interest, and deal to every thing else. General Nicholson came to Boston, and gave all the assistance that was in his power, and so did some other public-spirited persons, without which it had been impossible for the fleet and forces to have proceeded at all; and, as it was, they found it impracticable to leave Boston before the 30th of July, when, with a few pilots on board, who professed their own ignorance, and went against their will, Sir Hovenden Walker sailed for Quebec. †

On the 14th of August he reached the Bird Islands, which lie about two hundred and fifty leagues from Cape Anne, and having sent the Chester, Leopard, and Saphire, to cruize between Placentia and Cape Breton, an island opposite to Newfoundland, expecting their joining him in his passage to Quebec; the former of which ships had taken, and sent into Boston before he sailed thence, a ship of about one hundred and twenty tons, and ten guns,

* Among other pieces of secret history relative to this attempt, one was, that the French had their emissaries in New England, and that by an adroit application of money, they produced these disappointments and delay, which rendered it ineffectual. But as I never heard there were any direct proofs given of this, I am inclined to believe avarice and private interest served the French more effectually, and with less expense, than any agents of theirs could have done. But in those days, much was ascribed to French gold, when in truth they had little gold to give.

† See Sir Hovenden Walker's account. Burchet's Naval History, p. 778, 179. Annals of Queen Anne, vol. x. p. 152. Mémoire Historique et Politique, tom. i. p. 299, 433.

that had seventy men on board, whereof thirty were soldiers for that garrison. The *Leostaff*, *Feversham*, *Enterprize*, and *Triton's* prize, all small frigates which were stationed at New York and Virginia, he ordered to join him off Cape Breton, being empowered by her majesty's orders so to do, if he should find it necessary; and this he the rather did, because of the use they might be to him in his proceeding up the river to Quebec, which navigation most of the people with whom he had spoken, represented to be very dangerous; and therefore he rightly judged the *Humber* and *Devonshire*, which mounted eighty guns each, too big to be ventured thither, for which reason he sent them home, and shifted his flag on board the *Edgar*, a ship of seventy guns, General Hill removing into the *Windsor*, which carried ten less; but since he had information that a ship of sixty guns, and another of thirty, were expected from France very suddenly, he ordered the *Humber* and *Devonshire* to cruize on the opening of the bay of St. Lawrence, until the last of August, and then to pursue their voyage home. He had very fair weather until he got into the bay, when it became changeable; sometimes thick and foggy, and at others calm, with little winds, and the navigation appeared to be intricate and hazardous. The 18th of August, when he was off Gaspe bay, near the entrance of the river, it blew fresh at N. W. and for fear the transports should be separated, and blown to leeward, he anchored in the bay, where, staying for an opportunity to proceed up the river, he burnt a French ship that was fishing, not being able to bring her off. *

On the 20th of August, the wind veering westerly, the admiral had hopes of gaining a passage; but the next day in the afternoon it proved foggy, and continued so all

* Sir Hovenden Walker's account, p. 121. Burchet's *Naval History*, p. 779. The *Complete History of Europe*, for 1711, p. 370. *Boyer's Life of Queen Anne*, p. 510.

night, and the day following, with very little wind till toward evening, when there was an extreme thick fog, and it began to blow hard at E. and E. S. E. which rendering it impossible to steer any course with safety, having not either sight of land, or soundings, or anchorage, he, by the advice of the pilots then on board him, both English and French, who were the best in the fleet, made the signal for the ships to bring to, with their heads southward, at which time it was about eight at night, believing that in that posture they should not come near the north shore, but rather have driven with the stream in the mid channel; but, on the contrary, as they lay with their heads southward, and the winds easterly, in two hours time he found himself on the north shore among the rocks and islands, at least fifteen leagues farther than the log-line gave, where the whole fleet had like to have been lost; the men-of-war escaping the danger with the utmost difficulty, but eight transport ships were cast away,* and almost nine hundred officers, soldiers and seamen perished. †

The French pilot, who, as it was said, had been forty voyages in this river, and eighteen of them in command, informed him, that when it happens to be so foggy as to

* Columna Rostrata, p. 295. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. li. p. 523. *London Gazette*, No. 4910.

† The admiral published the following account of the ships and men that were lost by this unlucky accident.

SHIPS NAMES. TRANSPORTS.	MEN LOST.	MEN SAVED.	REGIMENTS.
Isabella Anne Katherine..	192	7 or 8	Colonel Windresse.
Smyrna Merchant.....	200	30	——— Kaine.
Samuel and Anne.....	142	7 or 8	Lieut.-gen. Seymour.
Nathaniel and Elizabeth..	10	188	——— ditto.
Maidborough.....	130	30	Colonel Clayton.
Chatham.....	60	40	——— Windresse.
Colchester	150	180	Lieut.-gen. Seymour.
Content, victualler		15	
	<hr/> 884	<hr/> 499	

prevent the sight of the land, it is impossible to judge of the currents, or to steer by any course; for that he himself had lost two ships, and been another time cast away upon the north shore, when he judged himself near the south; insomuch, that it was extremely difficult to procure men in France, to proceed on so dangerous a navigation, since almost every year they suffered shipwreck. *

Sir Hovenden Walker plied two days after this with fresh gales at W. and S. in order to save what men and stores he could, and on the 25th of August, by the advice, and with the consent of the general, he called a council of war, consisting of all the sea-officers, wherein great debates arose, most of the captains being rather inclined to censure the admiral's conduct, in not calling a council of war before he left Boston, than to give him any reason to grow pleased with councils of war, by the advice they gave him in this. Sir Hovenden told them plainly, that if he had acted amiss in what they mentioned, he was to answer for it in another place, and that the nature of the service, and the circumstances they were in, required them to confine their deliberations to another matter; and, therefore, in order to cut short these unnecessary debates, he would propose the single question, proper for their present consideration; which was, whether they thought it practicable to get up to Quebec or not? upon which they came unanimously to the following resolution, *viz.* "That, by reason of the ignorance of the pilots, it was wholly impracticable to go up the river of St. Lawrence, with the men-of-war and transports, as far as Quebec; as also the uncertainty and rapidity of the currents, as by fatal experience was found." † Upon this, the Saphire

* Sir Hovenden himself gives Mr. Burchet this account, in a letter sent him express by Captain Cook, of the *Leopard*, dated from on board the *Edgar*, in Spanish River Bay, September 12, 1711.

† This resolution was not taken upon any hasty resentment of the late accident; but after mature deliberation, and very strict examina-

was sent to Boston, with an account of the misfortune, and the Montague to find out the Humber and Devonshire, and to stop all ships bound up to Quebec; and the Leopard being left with some sloops and brigantines, to take any men from the shore that might be saved, and to endeavour to weigh some anchors left behind, he proceeded to Spanish River, in the Island of Breton, the rendezvous he had appointed, there to be perfectly informed of the state of the army and fleet, and to settle matters for their further proceedings; but all the ships did not join till the 7th of September. *

The admiral being very sensible of the reproaches that would be cast upon him, if, after failing in his design on Quebec, he should return home without so much as attempting Placentia, communicated his thoughts upon this subject very freely to the general, and some land-officers, intimating, at the same time, some doubt, whether his instructions would warrant such a conduct, without receiving fresh orders from England. General Hill agreed with him in the main, that it was a great misfortune to the nation, and very unlucky for themselves, that hitherto they had met with so little success in this expedition; but was quite of a different opinion, as to the return of the fleet and forces to England, which he judged to be absolutely in the admiral's power; however, he advised him to call a second council of war, and to be determined by the opinion of the sea and land officers, to which the admiral readily agreed; and, accordingly, he made a signal for a general council of war of sea and land officers, on Saturday the 8th of September, in Spanish River road;

tion of every pilot on board, who all of them agreed in confessing their ignorance; and even Colonel Vetch, who declared himself the best pilot for that river, now desired to be excused from meddling with sea affairs, and said he could not take charge so much as of a single ship.

* See Sir Hovenden Walker's account, p. 154. Burchet's Naval History, p. 780. London Gazette before cited.

and in this council it was unanimously determined, that any attempt upon Placentia, considering the lateness of the season, and their circumstances, was utterly impracticable.*

* As this resolution absolutely decided the whole business, as it contains the reasons upon which the officers concerned proceeded; and as it fully proves the innocence of the admiral and the general in this affair, the whole of which it sets in a full and clear light; I think it necessary to transcribe this paper, with the names of the officers present at this council.

"The twenty-first articles of her majesty's instructions to the general, for attacking Placentia, in Newfoundland, in his return from Canada, together with the tenth article of the admiral's instructions to the same purpose, being severally read to the council of war; as also a letter from Colonel Dudley, governor of New England, to the admiral, touching the lateness of the preparation of provisions, now making in that colony for the supply of the troops, if they had wintered at Quebec; all which being maturely considered and debated, the question was put as follows, viz. The state of provisions for the ships of war and land forces being considered, which provisions not amounting to above ten weeks, at short allowance, computing it from the 12th of this instant, September, as appears by the agent victuallers signed account thereof, and allowing it to be all good, and to hold out to that time, the said 12th of September, being the soonest we can sail from thence; and there being no hopes of any supply from New England before the beginning of November next, at soonest, as appears by the advice received in the aforesaid letter from the governor of New England, and the opinion of two of the members of the council of war, who knew that country, together with the uncertainty of any provisions coming to us at Newfoundland, by reason the season of the year is so far advanced, which makes the navigation of that coast so dangerous; the council of war is unanimously of opinion, that the attempt for reducing Placentia, under the circumstances and difficulties above-mentioned, is at this time altogether impracticable, and that it is for her majesty's service, that the squadron and transports with the British troops, do forthwith return to Great Britain, and the forces raised in New England to that colony."

Hovenden Walker,
Joseph Soanes,
John Mitchell,
R. Arris,
G. Walton,

J. Hill,
Charles Churchill,
William Windresse,
M. Kempenfelt,
Jasper Clayton,

The admiral had now nothing more to do, than to provide the best he could for his safe return home, and for the due distribution of ships and forces to their respective stations and garrisons throughout North America, which he seems to have performed with all the care and diligence imaginable; and it appears, that in the whole course of his command, he preserved a perfect understanding with the land officers, and gave all the assistance that was either desired, or could be expected, to the several governors of our settlements in that part of the world. In his voyage home, he met with no accidents that either retarded his passage, or added to the misfortunes he had already met with; but arrived safely at St. Helen's, on the 9th of October, 1711, with the fleet and transports under his command.*

On the 13th, the soldiers having all had their quarters assigned them, and the transports being directed to the several ports where the regiments were to disembark, the admiral, having had leave for that purpose, set out for London. On the 15th, the admiral's ship, in which he had hoisted his flag, the *Edgar*, a third-rate, of seventy guns, blew up at Spithead, by which several hundred seamen were lost, with all Sir Hovenden Walker's furniture, stores, and public papers, books, draughts, journals, charts, &c. the officer's original demands, supplies, and receipts; which was certainly a very great misfortune to him, and such a one as did by no means deserve to be heightened by any groundless or malicious reflections; which, however, were not spared upon that melancholy

Henry Gore,
G. Paddon,
John Winder,
John Cockburn,
James Cook,

P. Kirk,
H. Disney,
Richard Kane,
Samuel Vetch,
Charles Walton.

* Burchet's *Naval History*, p. 781. The *Complete History of Europe*, for 1711, p. 372. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. li.
n. 508

occasion. That very evening, Sir Hovenden waited upon Secretary St. John, who expressed an extraordinary concern on the miscarriage of the expedition. On the 19th, the admiral was introduced to the queen at Windsor, by the duke of Shrewsbury, when her majesty received him very kindly, gave him her hand to kiss, and told him she was glad to see him. "

The reflections made by Mr. Secretary Burchet, upon this expedition are so extraordinary, and so out of his usual way of writing, that I cannot help laying them before the reader, with a few remarks. " Thus ended," says he, " an expedition so chargeable to the nation, and " from which no advantage could reasonably be expected, " considering how unadvisedly it was set on foot, by " those who nursed it upon false suggestions and representations. Besides it occasioned our drawing from " our army in Flanders, under the command of his grace " the duke of Marlborough, at least six thousand men ; " where, instead of beating up and down at sea, they " might, under his auspicious conduct, have done their " country service. Nay, there may be added to the mis- " fortunes abroad, an unlucky accident which happened " even at their return on our coast ; for a ship of the " squadron, called the *Edgar*, of seventy guns, had not " been many days at an anchor at Spithead, ere (by what " cause is unknown) she blew up, and all the men which " were on board her perished." †

See Sir Hovenden Walker's account, p. 155, 156. Burchet's *Naval History*, p. 781. *Pointer's Chronological Historian*, vol. ii. p. 685.

† See his *Naval History*, p. 781. What seems to have drawn so much resentment upon Sir Hovenden Walker was, his being considered as a favourite of this administration. At the change of the ministry, he was superintendant at Plymouth, and was promoted to the vacant flag in the month of March, 1711, as he tells us himself, out of regard to seniority. In the month of April he was knighted, and appointed commander-in-chief of this expedition, in which his

The first part of this observation is taken from Sir Hovenden Walker's letter ; but whereas he says plainly, that as the scheme was contrived by the people of New England, so it was ruined through their ill conduct ; yet, as it stands with Mr. Burchet, it looks rather like a reflection on the administration. The design itself was undoubtedly good ; it was thought of before ; it was attempted soon after the revolution. All thinking men in North America saw not only the expediency, but the necessity of it, and that, in fact, the thing stood thus ; we must either use our superiority for the destruction of the French, or expect destruction from them, when, through our neglect, and their own diligence, they became superiour to us. It was, therefore, no objection at all, either to the administration, or to Admiral Walker, that their thoughts were so much bent on a matter of such high consequence to the commerce and navigation of Great Britain ; especially at such a juncture, when, if we had succeeded in our design, the possession of Canada must have been yielded to us by a peace.

The short victualling of the fleet, which some have interpreted as a proof that the ministry were not in earnest, was, in fact, an evidence of the contrary ; for, if they had intended to make a shew only, they would most certainly have victualled the fleet for the whole voyage. But then, this would have discovered the design long before they sailed ; and it is most certain, that by following the contrary method, the secret was very well kept. In the next place, it is no less certain, that Sir Hovenden arrived in Boston in very good time ; and if the people of New England, instead of that backwardness which they expressed, and which, as appears from some intercepted

conduct appeared so little blameable to her majesty, and her council, that, as we shall see hereafter, he was again appointed commander-in-chief in the West Indies, in order to relieve Commodore Littleton, and discharged his trust there with great reputation.

letters, was in part conceived to be occasioned by the intrigues of some French agents among them; I say, if, instead of that backwardness, they had shown that zeal, that, from their duty to their mother-country, their own warm professions, and the interest they had in the execution of this design, might well have been expected, the scheme could not have failed.

So that, upon the whole, there is not the least ground for saying, that the land troops were worse employed under the command of General Hill, than they would have been in Flanders under the duke of Marlborough; I say, there is no ground for affirming this, unless it can be supposed that the Dutch barrier is actually, and *bonâ fide*, of greater consequence to this nation, than our colonies and commerce; and I must, for my own part, confess, that I can never be much prepossessed in favour of a writer of naval history, who would insinuate such things to his reader. Yet all he says of this sort, is a very trifle, when compared with that most injurious suggestion, as to the blowing up of the Edgar, * which was the highest misfortune to the admiral, and therefore it is barbarous in the last degree to impute it to him as a disgrace; nay, the very turn given to it, is as silly as it is malicious; for if the loss of the Edgar had been a thing contrived, it might in all probability have been discovered; whereas, being purely accidental, and all the men in her being

* The blowing up of the Edgar, on the 15th of October, was certainly a very dreadful accident; since, besides her crew, there were forty or fifty people from Portsmouth and Gosport, who went to see their friends. The commission officers had the good fortune to be on shore. What made it still the worse was, that our seamen had a notion of its being very ominous, because it was the oldest ship in the navy; and some went so far as to affirm, that it was actually the ship in which King Edgar sailed, some part of the old vessel being constantly preserved every time that she had been re-built, so that these were all ingredients towards magnifying the disasters of the Canada expedition; and I much wonder that this tradition did not find a place in Mr. Burchet's history.

blown up, it was simply impossible the cause of this accident should ever be known.

Another party writer has treated this expedition as severely, but with more wit, spirit, and decency, than the secretary; and to shew my impartiality, I have inserted his reflections at the bottom of the page.* Happy would it be for us, if less of party, and more of public spirit, appeared in our historians; if the design of every expedition was impartially represented, and justice done to such commanders as did their best to serve the nation, and were disappointed by accidents, that they could not either foresee or avoid.

We are now to return home, and to consider what passed in parliament, and elsewhere, relating to the subject of this work; and, in the first place, we are to observe, that as the parliament sat very late in the summer, so great pains were taken to discover as many oversights in the conduct of the late ministry, and that in as many branches of the public business as it was possible. Among these,

* The author referred to in the text, Dr. Hare, was then a reverend divine, and afterwards a right reverend prelate of our church, who, in a treatise, intitled, *The Allies and the late Ministry defended against France*, p. 58, writes thus: "It was plain, by the account given of the expedition, that it was not merely an accident, or any treachery, that was the cause of the miscarriage; but a complication of many difficulties. For first, continues he, we are told, that the river St. Laurence is navigable only at one time of the year. We let that slip; but if we had nicked the time, we could not have sailed up that river without very able pilots. We had none: if we had taken the proper time, and been provided with good pilots, none but ships of a certain burden can go up the river; all our men-of-war were too big. But if time, and pilots, and ships had been the most proper for the enterprize, we should have had provisions for more months, than we had weeks, to subsist the fleet and troops during the winter. And what is more, if we had gone in the proper time; if we had had good pilots, if we had carried proper ships, and had lain in sufficient provisions, it is said the enemy were so well provided for a defence, that our forces were not sufficient; though both troops and officers were so good, that nothing would have been wanted on their side."

the commons, on the 4th of June, 1711, thought fit to introduce the affairs of the fleet in the following terms :

“ With regard to the debt of the navy, we find that one great discouragement and burden, which that part of the service has lain under, has been from a liberty that has been used of diverting several sums issued to that service, and transferring them to other purposes, for which they were not intended ; particularly, that the sum of six hundred and six thousand, eight hundred and six pounds, seven shillings and seven-pence, belonging to the navy, has been paid for provisions supplied to land forces sent to Spain and Portugal, and for the garrison of Gibraltar ; for which no deductions have been made from the pay of those forces, nor any part of that sum re-assigned to the victualling, notwithstanding the several acts of parliament provided, and the many letters written, and representations made to the treasury in that behalf. This unjustifiable proceeding has been a discouragement to the seamen, occasioned the paying extravagant rates upon contracts, and has very much contributed to sink the credit of the navy.

“ To this we may add, the many notorious embezzlements, and scandalous abuses, which appear to have been practised, as well in the management of your majesty’s brew-house, as in the contracts for furnishing the navy with beer. We have already presumed to address your majesty, that several persons, whom we discovered to have been guilty of those frauds, should be prosecuted at law for their offences, and we entirely rely upon your majesty’s most gracious assurance, that those prosecutions shall be effectually carried on : but we must also, upon this occasion, beg leave further to represent to your majesty, that the commissioners appointed to take care of the victualling your majesty’s navy, have been guilty of great negligence and remissness in their duty ; for the instructions which go along

“ with that commission, are so well adapted to the preventing those very abuses which have been committed, that nothing but a notorious mismanagement in that office, and an inexcusable neglect in pursuing those instructions, could have given way to the great loss the public has sustained in that part of the service.” *

To this the queen was pleased to give the following very gracious answer : “ Gentlemen, this representation gives me fresh assurances of your zeal for my service, and for the true interest of your country. It contains many particulars. I will take them all into serious consideration, and give the necessary directions to redress the grievances you complain of. Be assured, that your advice, upon all occasions, has the greatest weight with me.” †

The change of the ministry, and the change of measures, made it extremely requisite to countenance, in the highest degree, whatever had the appearance either of public fru-

* Some of our political writers have insinuated, that all this was the mere effects of party resentment, and a contrivance of the new ministry, to misrepresent the old, as the reader may find at large, in the history written by Mr. Oldmixon, who takes a great deal of pains to shew, that these censures were absolutely groundless; but Bishop Burnet, who had no less respect for the old ministry, and as great opportunities of knowing the truth of things as Mr. Oldmixon, gives us quite another account of the matter, which it may not be amiss to give the reader in his own words. “ Harley,” says he, “ in the house of commons, led them to inquire into some abuses in the victualling the navy: they had been publicly practised for many years, some have said, ever since the Restoration. The abuse was visible, but connived at, that several expences might be answered that way: some have said, that the captains’ tables were kept out of the gain made in it. Yet a member of the house, who was a Whig, was complained of for this, and expelled the house; and a prosecution was ordered against him: but the abuse goes on still, as avowedly as ever. Here was a shew of zeal, and a seeming discovery of fraudulent practices, by which the nation was deceived.”

† Chandler’s Debates, vol. iv. p. 222. The Complete History of Europe, for the year 1711, p. 232. Boyer’s Life of Queen Anne, p. 499.

gality, or encouraging our navigation, commerce, and influence abroad, such an influence, I mean, as might be beneficial to our trade; and with a view to these, the commons followed their representation, upon the 7th of the same month, with the following resolutions to address the queen, “ To appoint persons to inquire into the
 “ number and quality of the forces in her majesty’s pay in
 “ Spain and Portugal, and to examine the state of the
 “ payments and accounts relating to the said forces, and
 “ to the garrisons and fortifications of Gibraltar and Port
 “ Mahon; and also the accounts of the agent victuallers,
 “ and commissioners of stores in those parts.”

They also resolved to present two other; one, “ That
 “ she would be pleased to take such measures as her
 “ majesty should judge most proper, for supporting the
 “ settlements in Africa, and preserve the African trade,
 “ till some other provision be made by parliament for the
 “ same; and that her majesty would take into con-
 “ sideration the nature of that trade, and how it might
 “ be best carried on for the service of the kingdom.”
 The other, “ That an account be laid before this house
 “ the beginning of next session of parliament, of the dis-
 “ tribution intended to be made of the debentures directed
 “ to be delivered by the commissioners of trade and
 “ plantations, for the relief of the sufferers in the islands
 “ of Nevis and St. Christopher’s, and the re-settlements
 “ made there by the said sufferers.” The business of the
 nation having been thus sufficiently provided for, the
 queen thought proper, on the 12th of the same month of
 June, to put an end to the session by a prorogation.

In the recess of parliament, the new ministry was
 completed, and they had time to form and regulate their
 designs. Robert Harley, Esq. who was then at the head

* Burnet’s History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 561. Boyer’s Life
 of Queen Anne, p. 500. The Complete History of Europe, for 1711,
 p. 252, 253.

of it, had, a little before the rising of the houses, been created earl of Oxford, and Earl Mortimer, and had the staff of lord high-treasurer delivered to him, in order to give the greater lustre to his ministry, * and Charles Benson, Esq. was constituted chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer. † A new commission was granted for the board of trade and plantations, at the head of which was Charles earl of Winchelsea; ‡ and the lord-keeper Harcourt, was raised to the degree of a baron of this realm. §

Such other promotions were made, as best suited with the designs of the new ministry, who, towards the end of the year, shewed plainly their inclination to a peace; which, however, they were forced to manage with very great caution. Neither was it without much anxiety, that they considered the approach of the next session of parliament, early in the month of December, as indeed they had good reason, since it was known, before the meeting of the houses, that the lords would very strongly represent against the making any peace, by which Spain and the West Indies were left to the house of Bourbon.

On the 7th of December, the queen opened the session with a speech, in which she spoke much of peace; of the improvement of commerce; of easing the people; of reforming abuses; of maintaining the poor; and, in short, of every thing that was proper to conciliate the minds of moderate people, who were not so solicitous about parties, as desirous of seeing their country happy. || The house of lords entered, however, upon the measures that were

A. D.
1711.

* Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 569. Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 261. London Gazette, No. 4852, 4854.

† London Gazette, No. 4857.

‡ Ibid. No. 4860.

§ Ibid. No. 4896.

|| Annals of Queen Anne, vol. x. p. 282. Chandler's Debates, vol. iv. p. 226. London Gazette, No. 2936.

expected; * but the commons complied more readily with the inclinations of the court : and as soon as the estimates were laid before them, came to a resolution, that forty thousand seamen, including eight thousand marines, should be employed for the sea-service, and that one hundred and eighty thousand pounds should be granted for the ordinary of the navy. They likewise granted all that was required for the service of the war, and made provisions for raising the mighty sum given for the services of that year, and which amounted to no less than six million six hundred fifty-six thousand nine hundred and sixty-seven pounds, very early, and with a remarkable cheerfulness; so that it looked as if the ministry were determined to make a peace sword in hand, and to take no step that might possibly encourage the enemy to think we would lay down our arms, till all the ends of the grand alliance were effectually answered. †

Sir John Leake was now at the head of the admiralty, and in that quality managed the business of the board in the house of commons; and as the season for action advanced, he received a commission to command again in the channel, as he had done the year before; and the command of the squadron in the Soundings was left to Sir Thomas Hardy, whose proceedings we shall next resume, as a proper introduction to the operations of the year 1712. The rather, because the grand fleet did little more this year, than convoy a body of troops, commanded by Lieutenant-general Hill, who were sent to take possession of Dunkirk; which service ended, they returned into the Downs; ‡ but, as to Sir Thomas Hardy, he continued to act effectually, and to take all the care that was in his

* Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 583.

† Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, p. 523. 'The Complete History of Europe, for 1711, p. 461. Pointer's Chronological Historian, vol. ii. p. 700.

‡ *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. liii. p. 100, 101.

power to distress the enemy in their naval concerns, till his diligence, in this respect, was superseded by the conclusion of the peace.

Early in the spring, he had intelligence of the return of M. du Casse from America, for whom he cruized with the utmost diligence during the whole month of February; but with little or no success, except picking up now and then some small French vessels. He watched with the same assiduity for M. du Guai Trouin; but was again disappointed. In the beginning of the month of August, Sir Thomas chased six ships, and a tartan. One of them immediately hoisted a broad white pennant at the main-top-mast-head, shortened sail, and made a signal for the line-of-battle; and then tacked, and stood towards him, upon a supposition, as it was afterwards owned, that our ships were privateers from Flushing, with two prizes; but when they came nearer, and found their mistake, they kept their wind, and did all they could to make their escape, our ships pursuing them with the utmost diligence.

About five in the afternoon, the admiral came up with the biggest of them, which was the Griffin, a king's ship, but then in the service of the merchants.* It was commanded by the Chevalier d'Aire, knight of the order of St. Lewis, who shortened sail immediately, brought to, and sent some of his officers on board our flag, to inform him, that he was bound with bale goods for La Vera Cruz, and that before he sailed from Brest, he had received letters from Paris, importing, that in a few days he might have had the queen of England's pass; but that his friends advised him not to lose a wind, in order to wait for it; but Sir Thomas told the lieutenant, that if they had no pass, he should look on the ship as a good prize; and

* Burchet's Naval History, book v. chap. xxxiv. Lediard, vol. ii. *Mercur Historique et Politique*, tom. iii. p. 333.

accordingly sent his own lieutenant to take possession of her, himself, with the other ships of his squadron, continuing the chase. About eleven at night, the Windsor engaged the *St. Esprit*, a ship of thirty-six guns, and one hundred and seventy-five men, laden with bale goods for Cadiz, and about an hour after she blew up, just as the captain had given orders to strike; but the captain, with about thirty-five men, were saved by our boats. The *Berwick* took the *Adventure*, of Havre de Grace, carrying twelve guns and forty men, bound for Newfoundland; but the master producing the queen's pass, she had leave to continue her voyage. The same ship took also the *Incomparable*, of sixteen guns, bound for Martinico; and the *Ruby* man of war likewise took a small French ship of twelve guns, which was also called the *Ruby*, bound for *St. Domingo*; so that of this French squadron, only one ship of eight guns, and the *tartan*, escaped. The *Griffin* was certainly a good prize; but our ministers were so very desirous of obliging their new friends, that, after a long suit, in order to obtain the condemnation of the said vessel, Sir Thomas Hardy, and the rest of the captors, were obliged to accept of a sum of money, far short of the value of the ship and cargo, which has been justly considered as a hardship upon these brave men. *

Vice-admiral Baker was, in the beginning of this year, at Lisbon, with a considerable squadron of our ships, whence he sailed on the 8th of February, in order to cruise off Cape *St. Mary*. † He had not been long in that

* Burchet, Oldmixon, *Annals of Queen Anne*, Complete History of Europe, for the year 1712, and the political treatises of that year. In these last mentioned pieces, this affair is very warmly treated. The truth seems to have been, at this juncture, the English and French ministry stood in need of each other's indulgence, and therefore we need not wonder at a transaction of this sort, common enough in all governments, under circumstances of the like nature.

† Burchet's *Naval History*, book v. chap. xxxv. *Mercurie Historique et Politique*, tom. lli. p. 453.

station, before he ran a large Spanish ship of sixty guns on shore, upon the Portuguese coast, the wind being at that time so high that they durst not venture near her. The inhabitants of the country, however, went on board and plundered her; the cargo, consisting of sugar, cocoa, snuff, hides, and twenty thousand pieces of eight.* The vice-admiral presented a memorial to the king of Portugal, setting forth his right to her, and demanding, that the effects taken in this clandestine manner, should be delivered up; but they were so effectually secreted, that it was not in the power of the court to give him any redress.†

On his return to Lisbon, he found orders from England to cruize with five ships of war, for the security of the homeward-bound Brazil fleet, on which service the court of Portugal desired he might proceed by the 9th of April, and that two frigates might be sent with their outward-bound East India fleet as far as the Madeiras. The vice-admiral was very willing to comply with this; but the difficulty was, how to do it without departing from his orders, since he had directions from the lords of the admiralty, to send two ships to cruize in the Straits-mouth; however, he had hopes, that the Dutch commander-in-chief would have taken care of this East India fleet.

On the 1st of April, arrived a convoy with provisions and stores from England, which determined him, since the Dutch had disappointed the Portuguese in their expectations, to send a fourth-rate frigate with the East India ships as far as the western islands, and to cruize himself for the Brazil fleet, in such a station, as that he might be

* Lediard's Naval History, vol. ii. p. 861. *Mercurie Historique et Politique*, tom. lii. p. 590. *Annals of Queen Anne*.

† All applications of any kind were very indifferently received at this court, from the beginning of the war to the end of it; which occasioned many reflections at home upon the old ministry, who did all they could to disguise these mischiefs, which were on the contrary rendered as public as possible, in order to serve their own purposes

easily joined by the before-mentioned ship; and, at the same time, he despatched Captain Maurice, with a small squadron, to cruize in the Straits-mouth. He continued cruizing about the western islands for several months, under great apprehensions, that the French squadron under the command of M. Cassard, was bound for the Brazils; till, at last, the provisions on board his squadron being reduced to five weeks at short allowance, it was necessary for him to think of returning to Portugal; but being still apprehensive, that if the Brazil fleet sailed before the French squadron, the latter would undoubtedly follow them to the Tercerar, where they knew that fleet must refresh; he resolved to continue in his station as long as it was possible, in order to which, he engaged the Portuguese to furnish him with three weeks fresh provisions. On the 11th of September, being off the Islands of Tercera, he met with a Portuguese frigate, which informed him, that he had left the fleet but three days before, and that he believed they would be that day in the road of Angra, the chief town in the island of Tercera.*

Soon after he had this advice, a violent storm arose, which very much shattered the ships, and drove him so far, that he could not fetch the island again; and judging that it must also have the same effect on the Brazil fleet, he made an easy sail towards Lisbon, in order to pick up such as should be struggling from their convoys; but had no sight or intelligence of them, till he came off the rock, when he found they arrived the very day before he made the land; and as the cessation of arms was soon after concluded, the squadron of ships under his command was called home. †

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 791, 792. The Complete History of Europe, for the year 1712. Mercure Historique et Politique, tom. iii. p. 693.

† The author of the conduct of the allies, that is, the celebrated Dr. Swift, criticises upon these articles in the grand alliance, by which

Sir John Jennings at this time commanded the grand fleet in the Mediterranean, and in the month of May joined the Dutch vice-admiral with the transports, having on board six thousand five hundred men, which were put on shore in two days time; and his imperial majesty and Count Staremberg, pressing the necessity of carrying the cavalry over from Italy, it was resolved the admiral should return to Vado, whence he sailed with the transports on the 27th of July, arrived at Barcelona on the 7th of August, where, soon after, he received the queen's orders for a suspension of arms, both by sea and land, and a letter from the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, directing him to suffer a great French corn-fleet to pass unmolested, every ship of which he must otherwise have taken. From this time, though the admiral was no longer concerned

we were bound to take so much care of the concerns of this prince, very freely.—“By two articles of that treaty,” says he, “besides the honour of being convoys, and guards in ordinary to the Portuguese ships and coasts, we are to guess the enemy's thoughts, and to take the king of Portugal's word, whenever he hath a fancy that he shall be invaded. We are also to furnish him with a strength superiour to what the enemy intends to invade any of his dominions with, let that be what it will. And until we know what the enemy's forces are, his Portuguese majesty is sole judge what strength is superiour, and what will be able to prevent an invasion, and may send our fleets whenever he pleases, upon his commands, to some of the furthest parts of the world, or keep them attending upon his own coast till he thinks fit to dismiss them. These fleets must likewise be subject in all things, not only to the king, but to his viceroys, admirals, and governors, in any of his foreign dominions, when he is in an humour to apprehend an invasion, which I believe is an indignity that was never offered before, except to a conquered nation. In the defensive alliance with this crown, which is to remain perpetual, and where only England and Holland are parties with them, the same care, in almost the same words, is taken for our fleet to attend their coasts and foreign dominions, and to be under the same obedience. We, and the states, are likewise to furnish them with twelve thousand men at our own charge, which we are constantly to recruit, and these are to be subject to the Portuguese generals.”

in military operations, yet he was very far from being inactive, since he transported the empress with her retinue, from Barcelona to Genoa;* escorted thirty thousand men at two embarkations, from Catalonia to Naples; and afterwards carried over the duke and duchess of Savoy, from Villa Franca to their new kingdom of Sicily; which, though done in the succeeding year, I mention in this place, that I may not be obliged to return into the Mediterranean, merely to speak of matters of parade. †

We are next, according to the method hitherto constantly pursued, to return to the West Indies, where we left *Commodore Littleton*, with a small squadron, protecting the trade, and annoying the enemy as much as his strength would permit; but the government having certain intelligence, that the French were sending a considerable force into that part of the world, in order to disturb our trade, and perhaps to attack some of the Leeward Islands; the court thought it necessary to send an officer of rank, with a considerable squadron thither, for which service they made choice of *Sir Hovenden Walker*; which shews, that the administration did not conceive he had brought any stain upon them by his conduct in the Canada expedition.

He received his commission in the beginning of the month of April, and on the 28th of the same month he sailed from St. Helen's, with about an hundred merchant-ships under his convoy. ‡ He parted on the 4th of May, being then fourteen leagues from Cape Finisterre, with the *Litchfield* and *South-Sea-Castle*, and the trade bound

* Burchet's Naval History, book v. chap. xxxvi. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. liii. p. 181, tom. liv. p. 476. Her imperial majesty presented Sir John Jennings, at his departure, with her picture set in diamonds, and gave his nephew also a very fine diamond ring.

† *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. lv. p. 477.

‡ Burchet's Naval History, book v. chap. xxvii. *Luciard's Naval History*, vol. ii. p. 859. *Boyer's Life of Queen Anne*.

to Portugal; and arriving at the Madeiras with the Monmouth, a third-rate, the August and Centurion, fourth-rates, the Scarborough and Roebuck, fifth-rates, and a frigate of twenty guns, it was determined to leave the Barbadoes trade there, under their proper convoy, consisting of the Woolwich, Swallow, and Lime; but that fleet, taking in their wine sooner than usual, sailed with the squadron on the 28th of the same month for the West Indies.

On the 24th of June, Admiral Walker arrived at Antigua, where the governor was more apprehensive of an insurrection among the inhabitants, than of an invasion from the French; and indeed things were at that time in a very unsettled condition in the Leeward Islands, where the governor, Colonel Douglas, was upon almost as bad terms with the people as his predecessor, Colonel Parke; whom they murdered for his tyrannical behaviour. Admiral Walker promised the governor, that if any thing like an insurrection happened, he would send him any assistance he should require from Jamaica; but advised him to treat the people with lenity; and to consider, that though he was sent over with instructions to prosecute such as were concerned in destroying the late governor, yet this was to be done in a legal manner, and with due regard to the liberty of the subject, and the monstrous provocations they had received, before they had proceeded to extremities, not justifiable indeed, but, at the same time, not altogether inexcusable. But this governor, who was so careful of his own safety, gave him not the least intelligence that a French squadron was expected in those parts; though, if he had taken any pains to be properly informed, he might have known that the French at Martinico expected, at this very time, the arrival of M. Cassard, with nine men-of-war. Sir Hovenden Walker sailing from thence, arrived safely at Jamaica on the 6th of July, where having made the necessary dispositions for sending

home the trade, and stating properly the ships under his command, he received, when he least expected it, the news by an advice-boat, of an attempt made by the French upon Antigua and Montserrat. *

This expedition of M. Cassard deserves to be particularly taken notice of. He sailed from Toulon with a stout squadron of the king's ships, and is said to have had general instructions to annoy their enemies. As there was, even at this time, a negotiation carrying on between the British and French ministers, it is surprising that the latter did not give him orders to forbear attacking our colonies, till such time as he received intelligence from France, the neglect of which occasioned great murmuring in England, and might have retarded the peace, if the news had arrived before it was so far advanced. † M. Cassard sailed first to St. Jago, which is the principal of the islands of Cape de Verde, of which he made himself master without much difficulty, and having blown up the fort, and carried off whatever he could meet with, continued his voyage for the West Indies, where he arrived in the beginning of the month of July; and having drawn together in Martinico upwards of three thousand men,

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 782. British Empire in America, vol. ii. p. 345; and, if the reader is inclined to enquire particularly into the affair of Colonel Parkes, Mr. French's History of that Transaction, and the Answer to it.

† I have been informed, by some who were very well acquainted with the politics of the French court, that this expedition was projected in revenge of that undertaken against Quebec, of which the French have quite different notions from those that prevailed here; and with reason, since, however it was executed, it was unquestionably well contrived, especially as the authors of it had even then a peace in their heads, by which they would without doubt have got any conquest that might have been made by that fleet effectually secured. But the French probably designed a general interruption of the commerce of the allies, in order to bring them sooner to a peace; for, as the reader sees in the text, M. Cassard did not attack us alone, but the Portuguese also, and the Dutch.

he had thoughts of attacking Antigua ; but finding it very difficult to land there, he fell upon Montserrat, where he met with a very feeble resistance ; the inhabitants retiring into the heart of the island, because in the mountains they had a fortress almost inaccessible. The French continued upon the place some days, doing all the mischief possible ; but having information that several of our ships were coming to the relief of the island, they abandoned it, though not till they had in a manner totally destroyed all the settlements in it. *

Some mischief they did to our trade on the coast of Antigua, but finding themselves very much disliked by such as wished well to peace, they resolved to give over cruising upon the English ; upon which they prepared every thing necessary for a longer voyage, and then stood over to the continent, where they attacked the Dutch settlement of Surinam, and obliged the inhabitants to pay them eight hundred thousand pieces of eight by way of contribution ; this was in the month of October ; and, in the mean time, Captain Archibald Hamilton, in her majesty's ship the Woolwich, having received an account at Antigua of the cessation of arms ; and that the French had, notwithstanding, carried several prizes into Martinico ; he sent a ship thither to demand them of Mr. Philippeaux, general of the French islands, who ordered all of them to be restored, and such goods as had been taken out of them to be put on board again.†

Sir Hovenden Walker, in the mean time, remained at Jamaica, where he gave the necessary orders for the security of the trade, for cruising on the French coast, and for protecting the private commerce of the inhabitants with.

* P. Daniel, *Journal Historique de Louis XIV.* p. 290. *Memoires Historiques.* *Mercur Historique et Politique*, tom. liii. p. 194, 433, 569.

† Burchet's *Naval History*, p. 784, 785. Lediard, vol. ii. *History of the last War.* *Boyer's Life of Queen Anne.*

the Spaniards at Porto Bello, St. Domingo, and other places. While he was thus employed, there happened, in the night of the 29th of August, a hurricane much more violent than had been felt for many years in the island. It began about nine at night, and continued raging with the utmost vehemence till twelve. The lightning, in the mean time, covered the earth in continued gleams of sulphureous fire, the wind blowing all the time, not only with prodigious force, but with a horrid noise. In the morning a most dreadful prospect appeared, many houses blown flat upon the ground, most of the rest stripped and laid open; trees torn up by the roots; the west end of the church ruined by the fall of its walls; the governor's house dismantled, and scarcely a dwelling in the island remaining untouched. Several people were drowned on the shore, in the tempest, the sea forcing the boats and canoes a great way upon land at Spanish Town, and washing away the houses; so that, what with the wind and the water, there were not above two standing, and few or none of the ships of war, but were either driven ashore, lost their masts, or were otherwise disabled. The hospital was blown down to the ground, and several of the sick people killed; and, on the 1st of September, a third-rate, the Monmouth, which had been on the coast of Hispaniola, came in with her jury-masts, having lost her proper masts in the violence of the weather, and another, if her main-mast had not given away, must, as her commander believed, have instantly overset. It required some time to repair the damages which her majesty's ships sustained by this unfortunate accident; and, while this was doing, a very great desertion happened among our sailors, owing chiefly to the arts and intrigues of the captains of privateers, who made no scruple of preferring their private advantage to the security of commerce, and the welfare of their country. By the time the disputes which these transactions occasioned were tolerably composed, Sir Ho-

venden Walker received an order from the lords of the admiralty to return home, after having first proclaimed the cessation of arms, which he accordingly did, and, after a prosperous voyage, arrived in Dover Road on the 26th of May, 1713. *

We are now arrived at the period of the naval operations in this war, and our next business will be to give an account of what advantages were gained, and of what might have been gained by the succeeding peace. It will however be proper, previous to this, to observe, that the administration had some disputes with their old friends, and their new ones, in relation to the affairs of commerce, before the peace was concluded.† In the first

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* Burchet's Naval History, p. 785. British Empire in America, vol. ii. p. 345. The Complete History of Europe, for 1712, p. 24.

† It will appear in the next note, that we thought ourselves much injured by the manner in which the Dutch conducted the war at sea. Here, therefore, from the author of the conduct of the allies, I will take notice of some complaints that were made of another nature, with a view to have it understood, that the carrying on the war was a thing now no longer practicable. By the grand alliance between the empire, England and Holland, we were to assist the other two, *totis viribus*, by sea and land. By a convention subsequent to this treaty, the proportion which the several parties should contribute towards the war, were adjusted in the following manner: The emperor was obliged to furnish ninety thousand men against France, either in Italy, or upon the Rhine; Holland to bring sixty thousand into the field in Flanders, exclusive of garrisons; and we forty thousand. In the winter, 1702, which was the next year, the duke of Marlborough proposed the raising of ten thousand men more, by way of augmentation, and to carry on the war with greater vigour; to which the parliament agreed, and the Dutch were to raise the same number. This was, upon a par, directly contrary to the former stipulation, whereby our part was to be a third less than theirs; and therefore it was granted, with a condition, that Holland should break off all trade and commerce with France. But this condition was never executed, the Dutch only amusing us with a specious declaration till our session of parliament was ended, and the following year it was taken off by concert between our general and the States, without any reason assigned for the satisfaction of the kingdom. The next, and some ensuing campaigns, further additional taxes were allowed by parliament

place, it was thought a little hard that the Dutch throughout the whole course of this long and expensive war, should not have furnished their quota of ships and men in any one year; and this notwithstanding repeated expostulations with the States-general upon this subject. *

for the war in Flanders; and in every new supply the Dutch gradually lessened their proportion, although the parliament addressed the queen, that the States might be desired to observe them according to agreement; which had no other effect, than to teach them to elude it, by making their troops nominal corps; as they did by keeping up the number of regiments, but sinking a fifth part of the men and money: so that at length things were just inverted, and in all new levies we contributed a third more than the Dutch; who at first were obliged to the same proportion more than us. Besides, the more towns we conquered for the States, the worse condition we were in toward reducing the common enemy, and consequently of putting an end to the war. For they made no scruple of employing the troops of their quota, toward garrisoning every town, as fast as it was taken, directly contrary to the agreement between us; by which all garrisons were particularly excluded. This at length arrived, by several steps, to such a height, that there were not the last year in the field, so many forces under the duke of Marlborough's command in Flanders, as Britain alone maintained for that service; nor had been for some years past.

* This parliamentary representation was made on the 4th of March, 1712, and the paragraphs particularly referred to in the text, are these that follow:

"For obtaining the ends specified in the grand alliance, the three confederate powers engaged to assist each other with their whole force, according to such proportions as should be specified in a particular convention afterwards to be made for that purpose. We do not find that any such convention was ever ratified; but it appears that there was an agreement concluded, which, by common consent, was understood to be binding upon each party respectively, and according to which the proportions of Great Britain were, from the beginning regulated and founded. The terms of that agreement were: That, for the service at land, his imperial majesty should furnish ninety thousand men, the king of Great Britain forty thousand, and the States-general one hundred and two thousand, of which there were forty-two thousand intended to supply their garrisons, and sixty thousand to act against the common enemy of the field; and with regard to the operations of the war at sea, they were agreed to be performed jointly by Great Bri-

With this grievance the nation was acquainted, and expressed no small resentment thereat, notwithstanding the

“tain and the States-general, the quota of ships to be furnished for that service being five-eighths on the part of Great Britain, and three-eighths on the part of the States-general.

“Upon this foot the war began in the year 1702, at which time the whole yearly expense of it to England, amounted to three millions seven hundred and six thousand four hundred and ninety-four pounds. A very great charge it was then thought by your majesty's subjects, after the short interval of ease they had enjoyed, from the burden of the former war; but yet a very moderate proportion, in comparison with the load which hath since been laid upon them; for it appears, by estimates given in to your commons, that the sums necessary to carry on the service of this present year, in the same manner it was performed the last year, amount to more than six millions nine hundred and sixty thousand pounds, besides interest for the public debt, and the deficiencies accruing the last year; which two articles require one million one hundred and forty-three thousand pounds more; so that the whole demand upon your commons are risen to more than eight millions for the present annual supply. We know your majesty's tender regard for the welfare of your people, will make it uneasy to you to hear of so great a pressure as this upon them; and as we are assured, it will fully convince your majesty of the necessity of our present enquiry, so we beg leave to represent to you from what causes, and by what steps this immense charge appears to have grown upon us.

“The service at sea, as it has been very large and extensive in itself, so it hath been carried on through the whole course of the war, in a manner highly disadvantageous to your majesty, and your kingdom; for the necessity of affairs requiring that great fleets should be fitted out every year, as well for maintaining a superiority in the Mediterranean, as for opposing any force which the enemy might prepare, either at Dunkirk, or in the ports of West France; your majesty's example and readiness in fitting out your proportion of ships, for all parts of that service, have been so far from prevailing with the States-general to keep pace with you, that they have been deficient every year to a great degree, in proportion to what your majesty hath furnished, sometimes no less than two-thirds, and generally more than half their quota. From hence your majesty has been obliged, for the preventing disappointments in the most pressing service, to supply those deficiencies by additional reinforcements of your own ships; nor hath the single increase of such a charge, been the only ill consequence that attended it; for

pains taken by the friends of the Dutch to persuade them of the contrary.

To say the truth, the matter was carried very high on both sides; for the house of commons, having represented these omissions in our allies, as indubitable matters of fact, in order to justify the measures that were taking toward a peace, it was but natural for the States, who were averse from that peace, to reply as they did to this accusation: which, however, instead of satisfying, provoked the house of commons to such a degree, that, upon the printing of the answer they gave here, they declared that this was a breach of privilege, and the paper itself, a scandalous, infamous, and seditious libel; for which the printer was put in prison, which prevented the publishing the remainder of the States' representation.* This was

" by this means the debt of the navy had been enhanced: so that the discounts arising from the credit of it, have affected all other parts of the service. From the same cause your majesty's ships of war have been forced, in great numbers, to continue in remote seas, and at unreasonable times of the year, to the great damage and decay of the British navy. This also hath been the occasion that your majesty hath been straitened in your convoys for trade; your coasts have been exposed, for want of a sufficient number of cruizers to guard them, and you have been disabled from annoying the enemy in their most beneficial commerce with the West Indies, from whence they receive those vast supplies of treasure, without which they could not have supported the expenses of this war."

* The States-general, by their memorial presented to the queen, April 8, 1712. observe, that the grand alliance only specifies, that all the contracting parties shall prosecute this war with their whole force; and therefore, if the States have exerted the utmost of their force, they have fulfilled their engagements; but they insist further, that the ships furnished for the north sea, had been left out, notwithstanding those ships were for the joint service; and they alledge further, that the number of ships which the States were to employ, ought to be regulated, not by the number actually put into commission by England, but by the number that was fit and reasonable for England to put into commission, or at least by the number proposed to the States, upon settling the annual quotas for the war. As the States had the paper drawn up by order of the lords of the admiralty, and

looked upon as a very strange procedure, and seemed calculated rather to give credit to that representation, than to refute it; which, however, might have been easily done; for that we really bore a greater proportion of expense in this respect during the war, than we ought to have done, is a thing very certain. But it is the fault of all administrations, to be rather inclined to such short answers as may be given by acts of power, than to those that might be furnished by the exercise of reason; and for this they are deservedly punished, by being often thought tyrannical in those acts, the justice of which might be easily defended. In this case, however, the nation concurred in opinion with their representatives, and things went on, upon a supposition that this charge against the Dutch was fully made out; which encouraged the friends of the ministry to attack the rest of our allies, particularly the emperor, on the same subject. But, as these altercations have no immediate concern with the proper business of this work, I shall not insist upon them, but leave them with this remark; that in all future alliances, our ministers ought to be careful, not only in making the best terms

signed by Mr. Secretary Burchet, containing an account of the English and Dutch ships fitted out during the war; so they likewise thought proper to add another account of their own, which they professed themselves able to make good from authentic vouchers; and as we cannot transcribe all these papers at large, we shall content ourselves with making an abstract of both accounts, in which the first column consists of the year; the second of the English men-of-war; the third of the ships of the States-general, according to Mr. Burchet's account; and the fourth of the ships according to their own. This paper having been printed in part, in the Daily Courant of Monday, April 7, 1712, the house of commons came thereupon to the resolution mentioned in the text, and committed Mr. Samuel Buckley for printing it, who remained in custody during the remainder of the session.

1702 .. 74 .. 33 .. 55	1707 .. 72 .. 27 .. 49
1703 .. 79 .. 22 .. 50	1708 .. 69 .. 25 .. 53
1704 .. 74 .. 18 .. 56	1709 .. 60 .. 11 .. 50
1705 .. 79 .. 20 .. 56	1710 .. 62 .. 13 .. 43
1706 .. 78 .. 15 .. 54	1711 .. 59 .. 12 .. 40

they can for the nation, but also in seeing those terms punctually fulfilled; since it is impossible, especially under our present circumstances, for the nation to bear with patience such acts of indulgence towards foreigners, at their expense, when it is visible, that, with all their industry, the inhabitants of Great Britain are scarcely able to support the necessary charges of their government, joined to that vast expense which their generous concern for the balance of power in Europe, and the liberty of their neighbours hath brought upon them. *

The difference with the French court was occasioned chiefly from M. Cassard's expedition in the West Indies, as we have before hinted. The French ministry, who knew the importance of being well at that time with the people of Great Britain, absolutely disclaimed that commander; insisting that he had only general instructions, that he had misapplied them, and that proper satisfaction should be given. On the other hand, the British ministry were too far advanced in their pacific measures to think of retreating, and so were satisfied with these excuses, without insisting on the punishment of this officer; which, if what the French court said was true, he certainly deserved.

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The first great step to the peace was getting Dunkirk put into our hands, which was represented as a thing im-

* The best use that can be made of history, is to correct, in our times, the errors committed in those of our ancestors; and certainly there are, among these, none which better deserve our attention, than the conduct our ministers have pursued, when we have engaged in confederacy with our neighbours. A confederacy implies a joint concern; and if, while this subsists, the whole, or by far the greatest part of the expense be thrown upon any one of the allied powers, it argues injustice in the rest, and weakness in such as are entrusted with the concerns of the injured power. There is actually no more public spirit in a minister, loading clandestinely his countrymen with more than they ought to pay, than there is charity in a great man's steward, who relieves the poor out of his master's estate, while his creditors remain unsatisfied.

possible; and with the promise of which the French only amused us. On the 11th of July, however, arrived an express, with the news, that a few days before, the town, citadel, Rysbank, and all the fortifications of that important place, were delivered up to Brigadier Hill, whom her majesty appointed governor and commander in chief.* Her majesty, thenceforward, treated openly with the French court, though always under a promise that due care should be taken of the allies: and for this the ministry pleaded many things in their own justification. For, first, they alledged, that since the king of Spain was become emperor, it was no longer requisite to insist upon his having the whole dominions of the Spanish monarchy: they insisted next, that if it had been ever so requisite, the thing was impracticable, the nation having found, by experience, that it was impossible to carry on the war in Spain to any purpose. This had indeed been long a point out of dispute, one of the warmest partisans of the house of Austria having freely declared as much a good while before, in a debate in the house of lords; but added at the same time, though it was impracticable, a vote that no peace could be made, if Spain and the Indies were left to the house of Bourbon, was expedient at that juncture; and yet upon this expedient, and at the same time impracticable vote, all the clamours were afterwards raised. The friends to the treaty said farther, that the nation was unable to carry on the war longer, especially in the manner in which it had been carried on; and that therefore, how much soever we might hate our enemies, it was necessary to make a peace, if we had any regard for ourselves. They added, besides, that they intended to make a peace on the plan of the general alliance, every article of which, they said, had been broken through, by

* Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 610. Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 504. The Complete History of Europe, for 1712, p. 380.

subsequent agreements during the course of the war; so that they would be thought to have the cause of liberty, and the balance of power more at heart, than even those who were for carrying on the war.

On the 19th of August, 1712, an instrument for a suspension of arms was signed at Paris, by the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, and the Marquis de Torcy, for four months;* and, in consequence of this, the necessary measures were taken for completing the peace. King Philip of Spain summoned a *cortez*, or general assembly of the states of his kingdom, before whom, and with whose consent, he made a renunciation of the crown of France, Queen Anne having before appointed Lord Lexington to be present at that ceremony. The negociations at Utrecht, however, went on very slowly, notwithstanding the pains taken by the earl of Strafford,† and Doctor Robinson, bishop of Bristol, her majesty's plenipotentiaries; and the great activity of the French ministers, who were the Marshal d'Uxelles, a very able statesman, of whom Prince Eugene said, with great spirit, upon this occasion, that he was the only French marshal he feared; the famous Abbé de Polignac, afterwards cardinal by the same title, the ablest head in France; and M. Mesnager, now raised to the title of Count de St. John, who was entrusted with the first negociations; and from this slowness it was found necessary to renew the suspension of arms four months longer. ‡

* Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 609. Boyer's Life of Queen Anne. Lamberti Memoires, &c. tom. vii. p. 482. Actes & Memoires de la Paix d'Utrecht, tom. i. p. 16. Mercure Historique et Politique, tom. liv. p. 83.

† The connection necessary in the text, obliges me to mention here, that about the latter end of August, her majesty appointed the earl of Strafford, Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, Knts. Sir William Drake, Bart. John Aislabie, Esq. Sir James Wishart, Knt. and George Clarke, Esq. to be commissioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral of Great Britain.

‡ Lamberti Memoires, &c. vol. viii. p. 1. Memoires de marquis de

At last, when the great influence of the queen was discerned, by her procuring the kingdom of Sicily for her cousin the duke of Savoy, which was her majesty's own act, the allies, most of them, thought fit to comply, and accept the terms she had stipulated for them, though with a visible reluctance. The emperor only remained firm to his first resolution, and made the necessary dispositions for carrying on the war alone; consenting, however, to evacuate Catalonia, and to accept of a neutrality for Italy, under the guaranty of her Britannic majesty. On the 19th of January, 1712-13, the new treaty of barrier and succession was signed by the ministers of Great Britain, and of the States-general, whereby the latter obtained a mighty accession of territories, and a very great increase of power. On the 1st of March, the instruments relating to Catalonia and Italy were executed; and on the 4th of the same month, the duke of Berry, and the duke of Orleans, renounced their right to the crown of Spain, in the parliament of Paris. These preliminaries being thus settled, the great work advanced more briskly, and by the end of the month, it was brought to its conclusion.*

On the 1st of April, 1713,† the famous treaty of Utrecht was signed, as some would have us believe, in a clandestine manner. The truth was, that, to prevent disputes and protests, which might have furnished matter for dangerous pursuits in England, it was resolved to sign the treaty privately, at the house of the bishop of Bristol, which was accordingly done, under pretence of a conference; which being a thing frequent during that con-

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Torcy, tom. ii. Actes & Memoires de la Paix d'Utrecht, tom. ii. p. 161. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 611. Oldmixon. Mercure Historique et Politique, tom. liv. p. 84.

* Boyer's Life of Queen Anne. Lamberti Memoires, tom. viii. p. 34. Actes & Memoires de la Paix d'Utrecht, tom. ii. p. 260. Mercure Historique et Politique, tom. liv. p. 230, 339.

† Corps Universel Diplomatique, tom. viii. p. i. p. 339.

gress, rendered the matter less suspected. The earl of Strafford, and the bishop of Bristol, signed first; then the ministers of the duke of Savoy, declared king of Sicily by that treaty; those of the king of Portugal after them; then the plenipotentiaries of the king of Prussia, and those of the States-general last of all. The whole was over about two in the morning, occasioned by the length of the treaties that were to be read before they were signed; and when the business was ended, the respective ministers withdrew to their own places of residence, without any noise, or without directing any public rejoicings, as might have been expected upon such an occasion.*

I have been the more particular in these circumstances, because some historians have represented them as matters of great importance. To speak impartially, I think there is very little, if any thing, in them; for in most separate peaces, the same thing has been done, particularly in that of Nimeguen; and I could name other, perhaps later, examples of a like conduct; so that, upon the whole, this ought to be considered rather as a misfortune than a fault. I shall not pretend to insist, that all was obtained by the treaty of Utrecht, that might have been obtained from France, after so long and so successful a war; but undoubtedly there was much obtained, and more might have been obtained, if it had not been for the disturbance given to the ministers at home; since, whatever people may suggest, all parties are alike friends to France, who thwart public measures, from a pure spirit of opposition. The Tories had embarrassed the Whigs in their administration, during the last years of the war; and the Whigs, in return, were resolved to make the Tories as uneasy as possible, in their project of making a peace. Both parties were in their turns gainers by this manner of acting; but both were gainers at the expense of the nation; and there-

* Lambert, tom. viii. p. 71. Journal Historique de Louis XIV. p. 293. Mémoires Historique et Politique, tom. liv. p. 462.

fore as they have no reason, they have as little right to reproach each other. *

* The earl of Oxford, in the close of his answer to the articles of impeachment, gives a very full and clear account of the motives to the peace upon his own knowledge; and as they are hid in such a piece, to which few readers resort for satisfaction in matters of this nature, I thought it might not be amiss, to make this subject the clearer, to afford them a place at the bottom of the page. "As to the peace in general, he, the said earl, thinks he has very good reason to say, that the queen had nothing more at heart, than to procure so great a blessing for her people; and that, when it was obtained, she had this satisfaction in herself, that she had taken the most proper methods to justify her conduct, both towards her allies, and towards her own subjects. For, upon a review of her majesty's whole proceeding, in relation to war and peace, he believes it will appear, and hath in part appeared, by the answer of the said earl to the said articles, that, as her majesty entered further into the war than she was obliged by any treaties subsisting at the time of her accession to the throne, so she contributed more men and money towards the carrying it on afterwards, than she was engaged to provide by any subsequent treaties. That her earnest desires of peace being twice frustrated, when such conditions might have been obtained, as would have fully answered all the ends for which war was at first declared: that all our successes and victories ending in the annual increase of the charge of England, without any further assistance from our allies, and her kingdom being exhausted to such a degree, notwithstanding the great advantages obtained by her arms, that she was not able to continue the war, upon the foot it then stood, one year longer, whilst her allies refused to continue it upon those equal conditions to which they were by treaties obliged: she was at last constrained, in compassion to her people, to hearken to the overtures of peace then made her from France, without relying further on the vain hopes of gaining more advantageous terms, by protracting the war a year longer. She had carried it on for some time under that prospect, without reaping the benefits proposed, even at junctures that seemed most favourable to her demands, and to the pretensions of her allies. She had, indeed, by that means, raised the glory of her arms; but she could not think this a sufficient recompence for the increasing miseries of her people, and therefore resolved to lay hold of this opportunity, then offered to her, of ending the war with a peace, if it might be obtained upon terms every way just, safe, and honourable; and those who were then employed in her majesty's councils, thought themselves obliged to second her good intentions in this case, and

I have said, there was much obtained by the treaty of Utrecht; it is requisite that I should make this good, because for many years, the contrary has been taken for granted; and I dare say, there are many thousands of people in England, who think we lost much, and none of our allies got any thing by that peace. The true standard for adjusting this, must be the ends of the war; for as no war can be just, in which the aggressors know not for what they fight, so no peace can be a bad one, by which the ends of the war are obtained.

In the first place, we fought against France to settle ourselves; that crown had never explicitly acknowledged our government here at home. We fought next, for settling the balance of power in Europe, by obtaining a reasonable satisfaction for the claims of the house of Austria to Spain and the Indies. Another motive to the war was, the securing a barrier to the Dutch, and an adequate recompence to the rest of our allies, for the injuries they had received from France. Let us see now what was obtained by the treaty of Utrecht, upon these several heads. In the first place, the title of Queen Anne was

"to obey her commands with all readiness. The said earl presumes, on this occasion, to mention to your lordships, the saying of as wise a man, and as great a general as the last age produced, the duke of Parma, when France was in a far lower condition than now, being almost equally divided between two contending parties, and Spain was at the height of its glory, and he himself at the head of a Spanish army, supported one of those parties, after Paris itself had been besieged by the other; it was his opinion, and the advice he gave to his majesty the king of Spain was grounded upon it; 'That if France were to be got, only by reducing its towns, the world would sooner be at an end than such a war.' The queen seemed at this time, with better reason, to frame the like judgment, and it was therefore her pleasure, and a great instance, as the said earl conceives, of her wisdom and goodness, to think of securing a peace, while she appeared able to carry on the war, her armies being full and numerous, and before the exhausted condition of her kingdoms, and the impossibility, on her side, of maintaining so disproportionate an expence, was discovered by her enemies."

acknowledged in the strongest and most explicit terms; the settlement of the succession in the illustrious house of Hanover, was likewise owned, and the person who claimed before the queen, and to defeat whose pretensions the act of settlement was made, was excluded the dominions of France, and his most Christian majesty promised never to admit him again, though he had owned him over and over; and he likewise promised never to assist or protect him, or any of his adherents. As to the second, a reasonable satisfaction was obtained for the emperor, though he refused to accept it; and the most solemn renunciations of the two branches of the house of Bourbon, are inserted in the body of the treaty itself, in order, as far as the thing was possible, to secure all Europe against the apprehensions of seeing the crowns of France and Spain devolve upon one prince; and, to obviate another objection as to the commerce of New Spain, it is expressly provided, that the French should enjoy no privilege of navigation thither, beyond what had been enjoyed under the kings of Spain of the Austrian line. In regard to our allies, it is plain, that the duke of Savoy, who indeed well deserved it, having steadily adhered to the alliance in times of the deepest distress, had full satisfaction given him, and in such a manner too, as had a visible tendency to the fixing properly the balance of power; and the kings of Portugal, Prussia, and the States were likewise satisfied.

I know it may be said, that there was a force upon the latter; but I know people are very unfit judges in their own cause, and that the States got by this treaty, not only such a barrier as seemed reasonable to us, but as good a one as the emperor thought fit for them, after all our successes, and when the allies were upon the best terms with each other. To say then, that the treaty of Utrecht did nothing, and that all our expenses and all our victories in that long war, were absolutely thrown

away, is much beyond the truth; but that a better treaty might have been made, I shall not dispute, because I think there is no arguing about possibilities. *

Before I part with this treaty, however, I must observe, that it was very extraordinary in one respect; it procured us much greater advantages, I mean the people of Great Britain, as a trading nation, than any treaty with which I am acquainted either before or since; and upon these, I must particularly insist, because they are immediately within my province. We have seen that Dunkirk was long before put into our hands; let us now see what was to become of it; and because this is a point that has been since, and may be hereafter, attended with warm disputes, I think it necessary to transcribe the ninth article of the treaty, by which this great point, great indeed, if we consider either the humbling France, or securing ourselves, was effectually settled. Thus it runs: "The most christian king shall take care, that all the fortifications of the city of Dunkirk be razed; that the harbour be filled up; and that the sluices, or moles, which serve to cleanse the harbour, be levelled, and that at the same king's own expense, within the space of five months after the conditions of peace are concluded and signed;

* The account Bishop Burnet has given us, will be sufficient to set up to the reader, the satisfaction secured to the princes and states engaged with us in the war. "As for the allies," says he, "Portugal and Savoy were satisfied; the emperor was to have the duchy of Milan, the kingdom of Naples, and the Spanish Netherlands; Sicily was to be given to the duke of Savoy, with the title of king; and Sardinia, with the same title, was to be given up to the elector of Bavaria, in lieu of his losses, the States were to deliver up Lisle, and the little places about it; and besides the places of which they were possessed, they were to have Namur, Charleroy, Luxembourg, Ypres, and Newport; the king of Prussia was to have the Upper Guelder, in lieu of Orange, and the other estates which the family had in Franche Comte." This was all I think necessary to insert here, with relation to our treaty; the emperor was to have time, to the first of June, to declare his accepting of it.

“ that is to say, the fortifications towards the sea, within
“ the space of two months; and those towards the land,
“ together with the said banks, within three months; on
“ this express condition also, that the said fortifications,
“ harbour, moles, or sluices, be never repaired again.”

The demolition of this place was of prodigious importance; it lies but thirteen leagues from the South Foreland, and any easterly wind, which carries our ships down the channel, brings out those at Dunkirk, to meet and intercept them; which, during the two wars preceding this treaty, made it often suspected that the French had intelligence, either from our admiralty, or secretary's office, though very probably without foundation, since the very situation of the place furnished the enemy with advantages enough; for the east end of the channel, which is so much exposed to Dunkirk, is but seven leagues broad, and gives them an opportunity of seeing our ships from side to side. It clearly appears from hence, that six parts in nine of our trade from the port of London, were freed from most of the hazards felt in those wars; and though part of this must be exposed when it passes through the chops, or western entrance of the channel, yet it must be considered, that it was liable also to this before, so that no new inconvenience is created; and besides, this is only the south trade; such ships as go to Holland, Hamburg, or the north, are absolutely free. Besides all this, the demolition of Dunkirk was an inexpressible blow to the French naval power, and even to their trade, especially to the West Indies; so that a clearer proof could not be of our superiour force, and of their distress, than the submission of France to this article. It is true, they endeavoured to shift off, and afterwards to mitigate the execution of it, but in vain. The queen insisted upon Dunkirk's being demolished effectually, according to the letters, and it was demolished as effectually as could be desired; whether ever it shall be restored, or if in time

of war restored, suffered to continue, so as to become, as in times past, a terror to the English nation, depends upon ourselves and future administrations. *

By the tenth and eleventh articles, the countries comprised in the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company, of which the French had gotten possession, partly in the time of peace, and partly in that of war, were to be restored; and not only restored, but his most christian majesty farther stipulated, that whatever had been taken in time of peace, or whatever injuries had been done to the Hudson's Bay Company, before the commencement of the war, should be fairly examined, and full satisfaction made. The like is stipulated with respect to the depredations by M. Cassard, in the Leeward Islands, after the negotiations for peace were begun.

By the twelfth article, the Island of St. Christopher, and the whole country of Nova Scotia, are yielded to the queen of Great Britain, as by the thirteenth article, is the whole country of Newfoundland; but the Island of Cape Breton, is by the same article given up to France, which has been represented as a monstrous piece of complaisance, though there seems to be great reason to believe, it was much less owing to the inclination of the English ministers, than to their inability of standing out any longer against the opposition carried on at home; and for this reason it is made one of the charges against the earl of Oxford, in the thirteenth article of his impeachment, wherein it was affirmed, that Cape Breton was part of Nova Scotia; and the earl in his answer to that article asserts, that he had gone no farther than King William had gone in the treaty of Ryswick. But, however we

* Burnet, Oldmixon, Complete History of Europe, for the year 1713, Life of Queen Anne, Continuation of Rapin's History, the Importance of Dunkirk considered, French Faith in the Demolition of Dunkirk, and many other pamphlets upon the same subject; published in these times.

might fail as to the point of Cape Breton, yet, undoubtedly, we acquired more by the treaty of Utrecht, than by any of our former treaties; I mean at the expense of the French, who at the time this treaty was signed, were actually in possession of Placentia in Newfoundland. *

* The earl of Oxford, even after he was impeached, thought he had a right to value himself upon this treaty; and therefore, in his answer, after having taken notice of the difficulties to which we were reduced by the war, he proceeds to speak in the following terms, of the advantages accruing from the treaty of Utrecht:—"At this juncture the queen entered upon a negotiation of peace, with circumstances of great honour to herself; France applying to her first on this account, previously owning her title, and acknowledging the right of the Protestant succession, two chief grounds upon which the declaration of the last war was built. As to the allies, it was conducted in the same manner as all treaties of peace, in confederacies, have ever been, and according to the known laws of nations in such cases, the first motion and the several steps to it, as fast as they ripened into proposals fit for consideration, being, without delay, communicated to the States-general. By the terms of this peace, as all reasonable satisfaction and security, due to any of the allies by treaty, were obtained for them by the queen, and their just pretensions effectually supported, so larger advantages were actually procured for Great Britain, in particular, than ever had been demanded before, in any treaty or negotiation between this and any other foreign state. The said earl craves leave on this occasion, to appeal to your lordships, whether all the ends for which the war was entered into, have not by this treaty been fully attained? Whether it does not appear by the best of proofs, experience, that the kingdoms of France and Spain, are, by the conventions of this treaty, most effectually separated? And whether any other expedient could have been so successful to this purpose, as that whereby it is now happily brought about? Whether the balance of power in Europe be not now upon a better foot, than it has been for an hundred years past? Whether the advantages that have accrued to Great Britain by this treaty, do not appear, and have not appeared, in the security of the Protestant succession, and in his majesty's peaceable accession to the throne, with the universal applause of his subjects; in the addition made to our wealth in the great quantities of bullion lately coined at the mint; by the vast increase of shipping employed since the peace, in the fishery, and in merchandize, and by the remarkable rise of the

But, besides these mighty advantages, there were others still more considerable, the demolition of Dunkirk only excepted, procured from the crown of Spain; for by the tenth article, the full and entire property of the town and castle of Gibraltar, with all things thereto belonging, are given up to the crown of Great Britain, in propriety, to be held and enjoyed absolutely, with all manner of right for ever, without any exception or impediment whatsoever. By the eleventh article, his catholic majesty doth in like manner, for himself, his heirs, and successors, yield to the crown of England, the whole Island of Minorca, transferring to the said crown for ever, all right, and the most absolute dominion over the said island, and in particular over the town, castle, and fortifications of Port Mahon. All that Spain reserves to itself, being no more than the right of pre-emption, in case the crown of Great Britain shall at any time think fit to alienate or dispose of the said fortress of Gibraltar, or Island of Minorca. By the thirteenth and fifteenth articles, the Assiento treaty is confirmed as fully, effectually, and authentically, as if the same had been repeated word for word in the said treaty, which was signed at Utrecht, on the 2d of July, O. S. by the bishop of Bristol, then lord privy-seal, and the earl of Strafford, her majesty's plenipotentiaries, and the duke de Ossuna, and the marquis de Monteleon, plenipotentiaries from his catholic majesty. *

"customs upon import, and of our manufactures, and the growth of
"our country upon export." For the proof of which particulars, he refers himself to those offices and books, wherein an authentic account of them is contained.

* As to this treaty with Spain, the earl of Oxford, in his answer to the impeachment, let us into a fact of very great import; for, says he, as to the matters concerted previously with France, for the particular interest of England, without the original intervention of Holland, the States were so far from protesting against her majesty's measures, and condemning her conduct in this respect, that their minister proffered several times, in their name, to have led the way

The Assiento has since made so great a figure in our histories, and there will be such frequent occasion to mention it in the subsequent part of this work, as that contract was the basis of the South-Sea trade, that I find myself under a necessity, as well for the sake of order and perspicuity, as for the performance of what I promised, to enter into a full and regular account of all the steps taken for erecting and establishing this great company, which was one of the most signal performances of the Oxford ministry.*

The earl of Godolphin, and his friends, had been peculiarly happy in the conduct of public affairs, and the maintainance of public credit, so long as the opposition given them did not rise so high, as to hinder their carrying public points in the house of commons; but after they once found themselves in that situation, their difficulties grew upon them daily, so that they were forced to contract debts in the public service, exclusive of such as were contracted, and provided for annually by parliament. At first these debts were seldom mentioned, some of them being pretty old, and others incurred by deficiencies, and the application of funds to other services than those for which they were originally designed. The drawing these debts out of obscurity, and declaring them unprovided for, was one of the first acts of the new ministry. †

in the most difficult part of the whole negotiation, and to have gone his utmost to facilitate the conclusion of it, provided his masters might have a share in the Assiento contract, and trade to the Spanish West Indies, one of those advantages which France had discovered its willingness should be allowed, previously, and entirely to England.

* Subsequent events may mislead us, in respect of the value of this concession. But if experience, for we actually had this contract for negroes in the reign of King William; if the opinion of other nations, (for the French lost it with regret, and the Dutch were eager for a share in it,) or the sense of our Spanish merchants, could ascertain the point, this was a valuable acquisition.

† The debts declared by the statute, are as follow :

Debt to the navy, old, new, and deficient	5,130,539
Debt to the ordnance	151,321

Their next care was, to form the proprietors of these debts into a new company, which, they conceived, would be as much dependent upon, and as useful to them, as the bank, or East India company had been to the former ministry. But the business was, to find out a proper pretence of erecting such a new company; and this was very happily found, and very dextrously applied. It was always matter of wonder to the greatest part of this nation, why the war was not pushed in the West Indies; especially, since there was a clause in the grand alliance, whereby we were intitled to hold whatever we could conquer in those parts. Some political reasons, however, restrained the vigour of our arms in that particular; and this, though the old ministry were very little to blame in it, made one great topic of public clamour. *

When a thing is once made the theme of common discourse, many lights come to be struck out in relation to it, that were not thought of before; and this was the case

Debt to transport-service	424,791
Old army-debentures of last war	1,018,656
Deficient tallies eight Guinel.	12,024
Provisions for the navy, Oct. Nov. Dec. 1710	378,859
Subsidies to the duchy of Hanover, 1696	85,000
Interest on ditto, from Christmas, 1710 and 1711	9,375
Loans on customs, &c. eight Annæ	1,296,552
Interest on ditto	74,876
Interest on the whole from Lady-day to Christmas, 1711 ..	386,325
To the year's service 1711	500,000
Add, for odd shillings and pence	3

£. 2,471,324

* If we had taken places from the Spaniards in America, it would have given an opportunity to such of the grandes as had embraced the party of Charles III. to have quitted it, and reconciled themselves to King Philip. It would have given umbrage to, and furnished a precedent for the Dutch. It was thought this point was well settled and secured by our private treaty. Besides these, which were not slight motives, there were others which are elsewhere mentioned, that hindered the former ministry, or rather rendered it impracticable for them to take any steps of this nature,

here: some merchants of Bristol taking this matter into consideration, began to apprehend, that, however the ministry might be bound, private persons were not obliged to let slip advantages of this nature; and therefore they resolved to fit out two ships for the South Seas, upon their private account; which they did; and these ships returning in the year 1711, after having made many rich prizes, the wealth of the South Seas came to make a great noise.*

This determined the new ministry to join an ample security for the debts hitherto unprovided for, with the prospect of the trade from the South Seas, and by this means, fix their whole design at once. Upon this plan, they made some proposals to the monied people, who, having been long attached to the former administration, treated the whole as chimerical, and a project that could never be brought to bear. I mention this circumstance,

As the business of this voyage to the South Seas very nearly concerns the subject of this work, it may not be amiss to take notice, as concisely as possible, of the most remarkable circumstances attending this affair. The ships fitted out upon this occasion, were the Duke of thirty guns, and one hundred and seventy men, commanded by Captain Woods Rogers; and the Duchess, of twenty-six guns, and one hundred and fifty men, under the command of Stephen Courtney. The famous Captain Dampier, whose voyages have made him known throughout Europe, was on board one of these vessels, as pilot; they sailed from Bristol on the 1st of August, 1708, and having happily passed the Straits of Magellan, they not only took several ships in the South Seas, but several towns also upon the coast; and on the 22d of December, 1709, they met with the Acapulco ship, that is, the lesser of the two ships which sail annually from the East Indies to Mexico; she was of the burden of four hundred tons, and carried twenty guns, and as many parraroes. The action lasted about half an hour, and the value of the prize was about two million pieces of eight; the larger Acapulco ship fell also in their way, which they attacked two days successively; but, as she was of nine hundred tons burden, and had six hundred men on board, they found it impossible to take her, which made them determine to return by the East Indies; Captain Dover being appointed commander of the Acapulco ship, with which they arrived safely in the Downs, on the 2d of October, 1711.

only to shew how little dependence should be placed on the resolution of men who are known to be governed by nothing but their interests; for, notwithstanding their alighting the proposal when it was first made, Lord Oxford and his friends carried on this scheme with success. *

* In the first place, they took care to give a very plausible account to the world, of the nature of this undertaking; and, which shewed their political dexterity, they made the very contempt, which was at first expressed for their design, subservient to its extension; for they gave out, that the last ministry having been careless of the nation's interest in this respect, were desirous of covering their reputation, by representing that as impracticable, which they had never attempted. † They took notice likewise of its having been always thought the surest way of distressing the Spaniards; and, to demonstrate this, they printed a proposal of the like nature, which was made in parliament, so long ago as in the year 1624. They further observed, that this was prosecuting the war against the French too, who carried on a mighty trade in the South Seas, and were actually making settlements there. This took off the edge from every argument that could be offered, as to the impossibility of the design; for all who talked in that style, were considered now as enemies to

* This settling the unliquidated debts, giving satisfaction thereby to the public creditors, and framing the plan of the South Sea company, are all enumerated in the preamble of the patent, creating him earl of Oxford, and Earl Mortimer.

† There appeared several treatises about this time, on the subject, the titles of some of which are worth preserving, (1.) A Letter to a Member of Parliament, on the Settling a Trade to the South Sea of America, with Reasons for encouraging a Commerce between Great Britain and the Countreies situated in those Seas. London, 1711, 4to. (2.) A True Account of the Design and Advantages of a South Sea Trade, with Answers to all the Objections made against it. London, 1711, 8vo. (3.) An Essay on the Nature and Methods of carrying on a Trade to the South Seas. By Robert Allan, who resided some years in the kingdom of Peru. London, 1712, 8vo.

the English nation, and persons absolutely in a foreign interest.*

To give the thing the highest gloss, and to fix the nation in a full opinion of the great profit that might be made by this trade, care was taken to circulate a notion in Holland, about the time that Sir Hovenden Walker undertook his expedition against Canada, that the true intention of that armament was against Peru. This had the designed effect; the Dutch took umbrage at it, and expressed loudly enough their dissatisfaction at our entering on any such views. This answered the end proposed, and begot an extraordinary concurrence in the new scheme here. The debts unprovided for, were next liquidated at nine million four hundred and seventy-one thousand three hundred and twenty-four pounds, on which an annuity at the rate of six pounds *per cent.* was granted, until the principal was paid, which annuity amounted to five hundred and sixty-eight thousand two hundred and seventy-nine pounds.†

The company was incorporated for carrying on a trade to the South Seas; and, by their charter, there was invested in them and their successors, the sole trade into, and from, all the kingdoms and lands on the east side of America, from the river Oroonoko, to the southernmost part of Terra del Fuego, and on the west side thereof, from the said southernmost part of Terra del Fuego, through the South Sea, to the northernmost part of America, and into, and from all the countries, islands, and

* There never was a period when party spirit ran higher, and consequently when truth was more disguised, or falsehood better dressed, than in this. There was less regard paid to the weight of propositions than to the persons who proposed them, and therefore the only way of coming at truth, is to consider these propositions, without respecting who supported, or who censured.

† *Annals of Queen Anne*, vol. x. p. 228, 333. *Burnet's History of his own Times*, vol. ii. p. 569. *Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts*, vol. ii. p. 459.

places within the said limits, which are reputed to belong to Spain, or which shall hereafter be found out, or discovered within the limits aforesaid, not exceeding three hundred leagues from the continent of America, on the said west side thereof, except the kingdom of Brazil, and such other places on the east side of America, as are now in the possession of the king of Portugal, and the country of Surinam, in the possession of the States-general. And to give the thing still the greater sanction, the said company, and none else, were to trade within the said limits; and if any other person should presume to trade to the South Seas, they were to forfeit the ship and goods, and double the value: one fourth part to the crown; another fourth part to the prosecutor; and the remaining half to the use of the company. And it is also provided, that the company shall be the sole owners of the islands, forts, &c. which they shall discover, and erect within the said limits, to be held of the crown, under the annual rent of one ounce of gold, and of all ships taken as prize, by the ships of the said company, and the company may seize, by force of arms, all other British ships trading in those seas. *

The stock of this corporation was to arise from the subscription of these public debts, and the sum of eight thousand two hundred and seventy-nine pounds, was granted for the charges of management; and as trade could not be carried on without money, so the governor

* This was, indeed, liable to the objection made by some of the writers before-mentioned, that the trade was chimerical, as in truth the company never attempted to send a ship into the South Sea. But the minister had very just reasons to proceed as he did. First, he was obliged to settle the company without loss of time, and, while the war continued, expeditions might have been made into the South Seas. Secondly, the forming this company, and the tenor of its charter, alarmed the Spaniards, and disposed them to make any concessions, in order to procure a peace with Britain. Thirdly, the Assiento was obtained for this company, in lieu of this trade granted them to the South Sea.

and directors of the new company had power, by their charter, to make any call, not exceeding ten *per cent.* for the prosecution of this trade.*

The lord high treasurer Oxford, than whom no minister had cleaner hands, or a sounder head, saw, with great satisfaction, the South Sea company's stock subscribed, by the very people, who, upon its first proposal, had treated his project as a chimera. He knew, much better than they, how far it was chimerical; he knew, that no advantageous trade could be carried on according to the scheme of the charter; but when the charter was granted, it was too early for him to discover what he really meant by trade to the South Seas. In the year 1713, the Assiento treaty, or agreement between King Philip of Spain, and the Guinea company in France, for the furnishing negroes to the West Indies, determined; and the lord-treasurer had an agent in Spain, who took notice of it to the Duke d'Ossuna, hinting also, that the granting this to the English might prove a means toward bringing about a peace; inasmuch, as this had been one of the principal points proposed by the private treaty between Great Britain and King Charles. The proposal was eagerly embraced, because it not only had a tendency to answer the great end of settling King Philip's title; but it also gave a handle to the Spaniards to rid themselves of the French, whose dealings in the South Seas had long given them, as it ought to have given us, great umbrage.†

* Statute 9. Annæ, cap. 21. Charter of the South Sea company. See also the several treatises which have been before referred to, relative to this subject.

† This leads me to take notice of an immediate and capital advantage which resulted to Britain from this transaction. It wrought upon the natural jealousy of the Spaniards, who never rested till they rid themselves of the French traders, who were become perfectly well acquainted with the route by Cape Horn, and had even passed this way to the East Indies, and so round by the Cape of Good Hope to Europe, as appears by Frezier's and Barbinai's voyages; and, but for this treaty, no question would, in the space of a few years,

Thus this wise and able minister brought about in Spain, what few had any thoughts of in England; and procured this to be offered by King Philip, as a means of conciliating the interests of the two crowns, and renewing the old correspondence between the two nations. In consequence of this, a project, consisting of forty-two articles, was delivered to his Catholic majesty, who, on the 26th of March, 1713, ratified them by his royal decree at Madrid; and these are the articles so solemnly confirmed in the treaty of peace before-mentioned, and which have been the basis of the trade carried on by the South Sea company; and which, if it has not, might certainly have been made extremely beneficial to this nation.*

This Assiento contract stipulates, in the first place, that from the 1st of May, 1713, to the 1st of May, 1743, the company shall transport into the Spanish West Indies one hundred and forty-four thousand negroes of both sexes, and of all ages, at the rate of four thousand eight hundred negroes every year; that for each negroe the Assientists shall pay thirty-three one-third pieces of eight, in full for all royal duties; that the said Assientists shall advance his Catholic majesty two hundred thousand pieces of eight, upon the terms prescribed in the contract; that twice a-year they shall pay the before-mentioned duties of four thousand negroes, his Catholic majesty giving them the duty on the other eight hundred, to balance their risk, and extraordinary expenses; that his Catholic majesty, and the queen of Great Britain shall each be concerned a quarter part in the said trade, and shall be allowed a quarter of the profits, which shall be accounted for, by the Assientists, upon oath; that during the term, neither the French Guinea company, nor the subjects of any other

have worked themselves into a regular correspondence this way into both Indies.

* *Actes & Memoires de la Paix d'Utrecht*, tom. v. p. 72. *Corps Diplomatique*, tom. viii. p. 330. *Lamberti*, tom. viii. p. i. p. 360.

crown, shall have any licence to import negroes; and in case they should import them, they shall be considered as contraband, and the company shall have power to confiscate them, with many other clauses for the security of this trade, which are not necessary for me here to mention. I shall content myself with observing, that the rights and privileges granted by this contract were all by direction from the queen, properly assigned to the South Sea company; and though it might be, as I believe it was, true, that a little jobbing was practised in making the assignments, yet the whole was most advantageous to this nation; and if we had not reaped such benefits from this contract as we might have done, we ought not to blame the treaty of Utrecht, but ourselves; for there is no serving any nation after it has come to a certain height of corruption.

It has been suggested, that, whatever benefits we might receive by this treaty, there were still much greater advantages that might have been acquired, if we had not suffered them to slip through our fingers. I shall take some notice of these. In the first place, it has been said, that we might have made ourselves masters of the Indies, or at least of the trade of them. I do not see how this can be proved. For, on the one hand, our open enemies were extremely strong there, so as not only to act upon the defensive, but even to attack, and that successfully too, the settlements of our allies, the Portuguese; and, on the other hand, not the Dutch only, but all the confederates were extremely averse from our making conquests in the West Indies; which were among the true and weighty reasons why, under the earl of Godolphin's administration, they were forborne.*

* We have more than once touched the reasons why, under that minister, we did not carry on a sea war against Spain, in the Indies, and we also acquainted the reader with the articles of the secret treaty; to which we will now add, that our navy was so fully em-

In time of war, therefore, it does not appear we were able to do much against the Spaniards, and against the French we were still in a worse condition; for in the islands they were too strong for us, from their having but few colonies, and those well peopled; and in Canada they found the situation of the country and its climate, sufficiently defended them against all we could do. It was only in Newfoundland that we had any prospect of making conquests; and there they gave us up Placentia, the only place they held. *

I have already mentioned the affair of Cape Breton, which some writers have called a mine of gold, given up by the treaty of Utrecht to the French; and the reason assigned for it is this: that if that island had not been left to the French, we should have possessed the fishery in that part of the world without a rival; and might consequently have made what market of it we pleased. Yet, however acceptable this reason may be at home, I am sure nothing raises us so many enemies abroad; this notion of monopolizing trade, and shutting our neighbours out of it by force, has a very bad effect; and is the engine constantly made use of by the French, to prejudice our once ~~good~~ allies the Dutch against us. I crave leave to add, that experience hath shewn the fact to be otherwise than it was then represented; we were, till the last war with Spain, in possession of a very great trade in Newfoundland; and, whenever a definitive peace is made, on the

ployed, that, perhaps, less cogent reasons might have induced our statesmen not to attempt any thing at such a distance, rather than risk the attempting what would have exasperated friends as well as foes, with small hopes of success.

* This was a considerable place, and in part the object of Sir Havenden Walker's expedition, and the French chose to give it up to facilitate a peace rather than have it taken from them, as it certainly would have been, had the war continued. It was equally a misfortune to the French, and to us, that the Isle of Cape Breton was not ~~also~~ given up, which has been a bone of contention ever since.

conclusion of the present war,* care will no doubt be taken, that it shall be secured to us in its full extent, as a compensation for our expense, and then I conceive we shall have no great cause to murmur. †

We find it also objected, that greater security was not obtained for us in the Mediterranean; where, they say, we should not only have had Gibraltar, but a territory round it. It were to be wished, they had given us a plan of this fortress, with the territory they expected, and then at the close of the ensuing war, perhaps it might have been obtained. But it is our misfortune, that even in points of such importance as these, we borrow our opinions rather from the parties to which we attach ourselves, than from the nature of things themselves. For let it be remembered, that many of those who insisted with the utmost vehemence on this error, in the treaty of Utrecht, afterwards, when their schemes of politics were changed, were as warm in asserting, that Gibraltar and Port Mahon too were of little or no use, and were actually inclined to give them up to Spain, not in consideration of any equivalent to be given to Great Britain, but in order to have such a peace made, as would suit the interest of our foreign allies. It is not, therefore, easy to discern, through the mists of parties, what in this respect are the true interests of Britain. ‡

All that can be fairly said of this matter, lies in a narrow compass; the security of our trade in the Medi-

* This was written about the year 1743 or 1744. H. R. Y.

† This entire cession of the fishery ought to be considered as the sole means of preserving peace, and the consequences attending this treaty before us, shew that all other expedients are ineffectual, which, till experience shewed it, could not be known.

‡ The figure we make, as a maritime power, in Europe, requires we should have proper stations in the Mediterranean; it will be the peculiar and perpetual glory of this reign, that in it they were gained: experience has shown their utility, and, against such arguments, conjectures and plausibilities will never prevail.

terranean is well provided for, by our having in our possession the very best haven in the Mediterranean, I mean that of Port Mahon, the influence derived from which, when properly attended to, must always make us masters of those seas, and put it in our power to give law to the French. If an English civil government were once established in the island of Minorca, and a large well-built city erected there, capable of becoming the centre of our trade in those parts, we should very soon see the worth of that island, and recover the best part of the trade we have lost. But military governments agree so little with the industry of a trading people, and are in themselves so repugnant to the genius of the British nation, that I do not at all wonder men of good sense, and those too of all parties, have secretly an inclination, that both Gibraltar and Minorca should be given up for the same reason that the patriots in King Charles II.'s reign, forced him to part with Tangier. But, be this as it will, we certainly have no right to cry down the treaty of Utrecht, for furnishing us with advantages, which our own corruption will not allow us to keep.

To conclude this part of my subject, I must observe, that, upon the close of the war, the French found themselves totally deprived of all pretensions to the dominion of the sea. We have, in part, demonstrated this in the last volume; but something more remains to be said here. Most of our conquests, indeed all of them that were of any use to us, were made by, or at least chiefly, our fleets. Sir George Rooke took Gibraltar, and Sir John Leake reduced Minorca; and it is also evident, that it was our fleet alone that supported King Charles in Catalonia, and kept the king of Portugal steady to the grand alliance; which, besides the advantages it brought to the common cause, secured to us the invaluable profits of our trade to that country; and, all this against the spirit, genius, and inclination of the king of Portugal,

and his ministers, who were all at that time in the French interest in their hearts; from which they had never departed so much as in shew, if the most Christian king had been able to perform what we did; since it is well known, that the Portuguese first offered themselves to, and contracted an alliance with that monarch, and his grandson of Spain. *

At the same time, our fleets prevented the French from so much as sailing on the Mediterranean, where they had made a figure in the last war, and kept many of the Italian states in awe. The very Algerines, and other piratical states of Barbary, contrary to their natural propensity to the French, were now obsequious to us, and entertained no manner of doubt of the superiority of our flag. To speak the truth, the slackness of the Dutch, in sending ships to this part of the world, had in this respect an effect happy enough for us, since it occasioned our being considered as the leading power, by all who had any concerns with us and them. Yet it must be admitted, that in the course of this war, the French performed some extraordinary exploits in attacking our fleets and colonies, and those of our allies, at which we need not wonder, since now this was all they had in their power; and though it disturbed us a good deal, and brought them some profit, yet it was more a mark of their weakness than of ours; for what greater, what more glorious argument of our naval force, than our sinking a great maritime power into a petty piratical state?†

* In every war this has been sufficiently seen. Our fleet is naturally the offensive strength of this nation, by which the power of Britain is feared, being at some time or other felt under every clime.

† It is really wonderful that this fact has not been more considered. When Marshal Tourville lay in wait for the Smyrna fleet, what was it less than converting the naval power of France into privateers. *Commercia hostibus interclusa*. Commerce rendered impracticable to enemies, is the legend of the medal struck upon that event. After the battle of Malaga, the men-of-war were let, or lent, to the mer-

Let us but consider the figure that France made at the beginning of the last war, and at the end of this. She had then her fleets as well as we; nay, she had sometimes better fleets; instead of waiting till she was attacked, or giving us the trouble to go and seek her squadrons at a distance, she spread the sea with her navy, and insulted us upon our own coasts; though we had Spain for us in all that war, yet it was thought extremely dangerous for us to winter in its ports; and every body knows, every body may see from this, and other histories, that while we protected Spain by our fleets, we were often in danger, for want of them, of being invaded by France at home. But, in this war, the enemy seldom appeared at sea, and always quitted it at our approach. Our naval empire commenced from the battle of Malaga; the extinction of the French force at sea, was in a manner completed by our enterprize on Toulon. They were, from that time, incapable of any great expedition, and the only attempt of that kind they made, I mean the pitiful one in Scotland, very fully shewed it. They stole from our fleet through the advantage of winds and tides; the apprehension of being overtaken, hindered them from landing, and their return was a plain flight.

In a word, to sum up all, we had to deal, in the first war, with the fleets of Brest and Toulon, capable of disputing with us the dominion of the sea in our full strength; in this, if we could guard against the Piccaroons of St. Malo, and Dunkirk, all was well; our merchant-men suffered sometimes; but our fleets and squadrons were always safe; nay, even in the trivial war between single ships, we had the advantage, upon the whole, as appears by the admiralty's computation; which shews, not only that the

chants, to be fitted out as corsairs. John du Bart, Mr. du Guai Trouin, and Fourbin, were the heroes who kept up the French fame at sea, and were employed in picking up trading vessels, while our squadrons were subduing kingdoms.

French suffered more than we did, but, what I believe few people have observed, that they suffered a third more in this war, than they did in the last, notwithstanding the many sea-fights in that, and there being but a single one in this. *

There happened no further naval armaments within the compass of this reign, except the sending a squadron into the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir James Wishart; the design of it, without question, was to exe-

* The truth of what is asserted in this paragraph, will appear at first sight, by comparing the two following lists, which shew the loss sustained by England and France, in this war, with those in vol. iii. p. 249, 250, where we have shewn what was lost on both sides in the last war, and from which it is manifest, that the French lost seven hundred and fifty-four guns, and consequently eleven thousand three hundred and ten tons of shipping more in this war than in that.

*A List of English ships lost, or taken,
in Queen Anne's war.*

GUNS.	NUMBER.	GUNS.
80	.... 2	.... 160
70	.... 4	.. . 280
60	.... 2	.... 120
50	.... 8	.... 400
48	.... 1	.... 48
40	.... 2	.... 80
36	.... 1	.... 36
32	.... 4	.... 128
30	.... 1	.... 30
28	.... 1	.... 28
24	.... 11	.... 264
22	.... 1	.... 22
<hr/>		
Total 38 1596		

French ships lost or taken.

GUNS.	NUMBER.	GUNS.
100	.... 4	.... 400
90	.... 8	.... 720
86	.... 8	.... 688
74	.... 1	.... 74
70	.... 3	.... 210
64	.... 1	.... 64
56	.... 1	.... 56
54	.... 4	.... 216
50	.... 2	.... 100
48	.... 1	.... 48
40	.... 1	.... 40
36	.... 2	.... 72
34	.... 1	.... 34
32	.... 1	.... 32
30	.... 2	.... 60
28	.... 1	.... 28
24	.... 8	.... 192
20	.... 3	.... 60
<hr/>		
Total 52 3094		
38 1596		
<hr/>		

The loss of the French exceeds ours 14 1498

cute what remained to be executed of the peace ; and as his Catholic majesty was, at that time, intent on the reduction of Catalonia, the English fleet rendered him some services ; which, however, made a great noise at home ; for, as the Catalans had been originally brought into the war by the persuasion of the queen's minister, and upon repeated promises of her majesty's constant support of them, it was thought not a little extraordinary, that the English fleet should afford any countenance, much less assistance, to the enemies of that brave people, who still considered themselves as the allies of Great Britain. *

It is true, that many plausible things were offered in excuse of this conduct. It is said, that her majesty had ~~done~~ all that lay in her power, to procure for those people ~~the~~ continuance of their ancient privileges ; and that though she had not absolutely succeeded in this, yet she had procured them an equivalent for their ancient privileges ; which was sharing those of Castile, and particularly that of being capable of having a concern in the trade to the West Indies, from which all other subjects of the crown of Spain are excluded. To this it was added, that it was in a great measure owing to the faults of the Catalans themselves, that her majesty's interposition did not succeed to the full ; since, while she was applying in their favour to King Philip, they actually declared war against him ; which put it out of her majesty's power to solicit for them any longer. It was likewise alledged, that the emperor might have stipulated conditions for them, under the guaranty of her majesty, in his provisional treaty for the evacuation of that province ; so that, upon the whole, it ought to be understood, that whatever mercy

* The queen had exhorted these people to take up arms, by her minister, Mitford Crow, Esq. who had letters of credence. The earl of Peterborough had treated with them by her orders. Instructions were conceived in strong terms in their favour, when Lord Lexington was sent to Spain, nor was it ever the queen's intention they should be given up.

these people received, flowed from the care taken of them by the queen; whereas, the many and great miseries they suffered, were absolutely the effects of their own perverseness and obstinacy. *

But, that I may not appear an apologist, rather than an historian, I must speak my sentiments sincerely of this matter. The obligation that Great Britain was under, to protect these people, was very clear, and withal so strong, and so binding on the government, that it is impossible to conceive, how any ministers, and especially those who counter-signed the very instructions for giving such assurances to the Catalans, could believe it right, or could even imagine it excusable, not to secure them their privileges by the peace. As to their having this in their power, it appears to me a thing past all doubt; for, when they first thought of the peace, they knew the engagements they were under to these people, and they ought to have taken care, that what had been promised them upon the public faith, should have been performed. Besides, it appears plainly by the treaty of peace with Spain, that our ministry had power enough to obtain the whole kingdom of Sicily for the duke of Savoy; and one cannot easily conceive, that people, who were able to do so much to oblige one ally, should not be able to obtain justice for another. †

The truth seems to have been, that the Spanish court were very desirous of carrying this point, and found a way

* They were obstinate in their aversion to King Philip, even when they found themselves left by the allies; they first desired to be annexed to the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, then to become a free republic, and, by the imperial minister at Constantinople, they demanded the protection of the Ottoman Porte.

† However their behaviour, as stated in their former note, might excuse his Catholic majesty, it did by no means justify the queen's ministers, who should have insisted upon King Philip's offering them their privileges, as well as a general amnesty; after which, if they had continued in arms, the queen's honour had been saved.

to gain our minister, who was sent thither before the formal conclusion of the treaty, to relax a little in this particular; which, perhaps, he did not consider in the light that I do; and afterwards, it was impossible to recover, what had been departed from. I am very far, however, from thinking, that all the ministers then about the queen were culpable in this matter. I have reason to doubt, whether the lord-treasurer Oxford came into that measure; and I have authority to say, that the late duke of Buckinghamshire was so far from concurring in it, that he brought this matter twice upon the carpet in council, and exerted all his interest to have prevented the Catalans from being given up as they were. I am likewise assured, that whatever Sir James Wishart did, was from his own construction of his instructions, and not from any express directions contained in them. This, so far as I have been able to learn, is the truth, and the whole truth without disguise or extenuation; and, if there were any minister, whose interest with the queen contributed in any degree to these poor people's misfortune, I freely own, that I think he departed in this respect from the duty he owed to his mistress and to his country.

I am now to proceed from the general history of the naval operations in this reign, to the particular memoirs of such eminent seamen as flourished in it; and as I have taken particular pains to be well informed as to their conduct and behaviour, so I shall deliver what has come to my hands, with the utmost impartiality. At the same time, I must express my deep regret, that many circumstances relating to the worthy men of whom I am now to speak, are attended with more obscurity than I could wish, notwithstanding the recentness of the facts, and the obligation that public and private historians were under, to have preserved, as far as lay in their power, whatever might have contributed to the honour of those brave officers, who so gallantly exposed themselves for the advantage of

their country; and to whose courage and conduct we stand indebted for the many advantages this nation still enjoys, as well as for the force and reputation of our maritime power, which has extended itself to the most distant parts of the world, and, under this reign particularly, drew the highest respect to the English flag wherever it appeared. It secured also to us such a mighty accession of trade, that the shipping of this kingdom was increased nearly a third, in the short interval between the conclusion of the peace and the death of the queen.

MEMOIRS OF VICE-ADMIRAL BENBOW.

As fame ought constantly to attend on virtue, so, without doubt, it ought to follow, in a particular manner, that kind of virtue which is of greatest use to society; I mean, sincere, active, and well-conducted public spirit. This it was, that distinguished the gentleman of whom I am now to speak, and that in an age when public spirit was not only out of fashion, but out of countenance; when a man who professed to love his country, if known to have sense, was thought to be a hypocrite; and, if not known to have it, a fool. Mr. Benbow was neither: he had a probity that was never questioned, and a knowledge of men and things, which always procured him credit, in whatever station he appeared.*

But there was this peculiar in his character, that never any addition of fortune or honour accrued to himself, but some good resulted from it to his country; for that reason I have, with great care, collected every circumstance,

* The reader will discern, from the facts delivered in these memoirs, that the first beginning, the progress, and indeed every single accession of character, as well as every step of preferment after that character brought him into the service, were the sole effects of his merit; unassisted by solicitation, unsupported by connection.

relating to his progress through life, from private hands ; which I flatter myself will be so much the more agreeable to the public, from the want of pains in other writers to vindicate the memory of this great man ; whom they have rather injured, by heaping together idle and ill-founded stories, and representing, as the rough behaviour of a tar, that steady courage, and that strict regard for discipline, which were not the foibles, as some people would insinuate, but the truly laudable qualities of this honest, gallant, and accomplished admiral.*

It would have been, I think, no reflection upon the merit of this worthy man, if he had really sprung, as some authors suggest he did, from a very mean original ; but the fact is absolutely otherwise. He was descended from the ancient and honourable family of the Benbows in the county of Salop ; which, though now sunk in point of riches and credit, is still remembered with honour, as it deserves to be, since the misfortune of the family were not the effect of their follies and vices, but owing to their firmness and fortitude, their attachment to honour in preference to interest, and their unshaken adherence to the good old English principles of loyalty and patriotism.†

When the civil war broke out, King Charles I. relying strongly on the affection of the inhabitants of this county, repaired in person to Shrewsbury ; entered that city on the

* Among other worthy gentlemen to whom I stand indebted, for many particulars recorded in these memoirs, I am especially bound to mention the late worthy Paul Calton, Esq. of an ancient and honourable family in Berkshire, who married one of the daughters and co-heiresses of Vice-admiral Benbow, and into whose hands many of his father-in-law's papers came after his decease.

† Camden's Remains, p. iii. Verstegan's Restitution of decayed Intelligence, chap. ix. Carter's Analysis of Honour, p. 73. We may, from the accounts given by these learned authors, collect from both surname and arms, that Benbow is a Saxon family, as Bowes, called in Latin, *de arcubus*, certainly appears to be, and as Strongbow and Bowman are esteemed.

20th of September, 1642; and the same day made a solemn and public declaration, that he did not carry on this war from a thirst of blood, of conquest, or of absolute power, but from a desire of preserving his own just rights, and those of his people; since he was determined, if God gave him success therein, to be as tender of the privileges of parliament, as of his own prerogative. Upon this declaration, the Lords Newport and Littleton, with the greatest part of the gentry in that county, came in, and offered his majesty their service; among these, were Thomas Benbow, and John Benbow, Esqrs. both men of estates, and both colonels in the king's service, of whose fortunes I am obliged to say somewhat, since the latter was the father of our admiral, and there are many things worthy of being recorded, that befel them both. *

When his majesty's affairs were thrown into absolute confusion, and he had been traitorously murdered, such gentlemen as had served in his army, retired into the country, and lived as privately as they could. But, though their interests were much reduced, and their fortunes in a great measure ruined; yet their spirit remained unbroken, and they acted as cheerfully for the service of King Charles II. as if they had never suffered at all by serving his father; so much is loyalty a better principle than corruption. When therefore that prince marched from Scotland, toward Worcester, the two Benbows, among other gentlemen of the county of Salop, went to attend him; and after fighting bravely in the support of their sovereign, were both taken prisoners by the rebels. †

* The earl of Clarendon gives a large account of this affair, in his history, and takes partiular notice of the king's coining his plate there, which inclined many noblemen and gentlemen to bring in theirs, as also considerable sums of money. See the folio edition of his history, p. 248: but, as for the king's speech, it may be found at large in Heath's Chronicle, p. 38, 39.

† Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 511. Heath's Chronicle of the Civil Wars, p. 302. A New History of Loyal Martyrs, p. 259.

That unfortunate battle was fought September 3, 1651, and soon after a court-martial was appointed to sit at Chester, wherein Colonel Macworth had the chair as president, and Major-general Mitton, and other staunch friends to the cause, assisted; by whom ten gentlemen, of the first families in England, were illegally and barbarously sentenced to death, for barely corresponding with his majesty, and five of them were executed. They then proceeded to try Sir Timothy Fetherstonbough, Colonel Thomas Benbow, and the earl of Derby, for being in his service. They were all condemned, and, in order to strike the greater terror in different parts of the county, the earl of Derby was adjudged to suffer death on the 15th of October, at Bolton; Sir Timothy to be beheaded on the 17th, at Chester; and Colonel Thomas Benbow to be shot on the 19th, at Shrewsbury; all these sentences were severally put in execution; * which, I think, sufficiently shews, that the Benbows were then, or had been lately, a very considerable family in Shropshire; for otherwise the colonel would hardly have been sent out of the world in so good company. †

As for Colonel John Benbow, he made his escape, after a short imprisonment, and lived privately in his own country, till after the restoration, when he was far in years, and yet so much to seek for a livelihood, that he was glad to accept of a small office belonging to the ordnance in the Tower, which just brought him an income sufficient to subsist himself and his family without danger

* Lloyd's Memorials of Loyal Sufferers, p. 558, where, from his own, or the printer's inaccuracy, it is Benlow instead of Benbow. Sir George Wharton, in his *Gesta Britannorum*, says, he suffered at Shrewsbury, October 15, 1651, the same day the earl of Derby was beheaded at Bolton. Whitlocke, in his *Memorials*, p. 511, states it so likewise.

† This is not mentioned in Clarendon's History, but is particularly taken notice of by Sir Philip Warwick, Dr. Bates, and other writers of those times, and in Heath's Chronicle, p. 302.

of starving. In this situation he was, when a little before the breaking out of the first Dutch war, the king came to the Tower to examine the magazines. There his majesty cast his eye on the good old colonel, who had now been distinguished by a fine head of grey hairs for twenty years. The king, whose memory was as quick as his eye, knew him at first sight, and immediately came up and embraced him. "My old friend, Colonel Benbow," said he, "what do you here?" I have, returned the colonel, a place of fourscore pounds a-year, in which I serve your majesty as cheerfully, as if it brought me in four thousand. "Alas!" said the king, "is that all that could be found for an old friend at Worcester? Colonel Legge, bring this gentleman to me to-morrow, and I will provide for him and his family as it becomes me." But, short as the time was, the colonel did not live to receive, or so much as to claim, the effects of this gracious promise: for the sense of the king's gratitude and goodness so overcame his spirits, that, sitting down on a bench, he there breathed his last, before the king was well out of the Tower. And thus, both brothers fell martyrs to the royal cause, one in grief, and the other in joy.*

When we consider the many misfortunes, and distressed circumstances of the father, it is impossible not to be surprised at the poverty, or not feel compassion for the condition of his family, of the state of which, at the time of his decease, I am not able to give any distinct account; all that I have been able to learn, is, that this son John, who was then about fifteen, was bred to the sea; but that it was in so low a station as a waterman's boy, which some writers positively affirm, I can hardly believe, because, even in King Charles II.'s reign, he was owner and commander of a ship called the Benbow frigate, and

* This particular I had from Mr. Calton, and it has been likewise confirmed to me by several other persons of credit.

made then as respectable a figure as any man concerned in the trade to the Mediterranean. He was always considered by the merchants, as a bold, brave, and active commander; one who took care of his seamen, and was therefore cheerfully obeyed by them, though he maintained strict discipline, with greater safety there, than afterwards in the royal navy. This behaviour raised his reputation greatly, so that no man was better known, or more esteemed by the merchants upon the Exchange, than Captain Benbow. It does not, however, appear, that he ever sought any preferment in that whole reign; neither is it likely he would have met with it in the next, but from a remarkable accident, of which I shall give the reader the best account I can, because it gave rise to all his future fortunes, and is withal as extraordinary a story in itself, as perhaps ever appeared. *

In the year 1686, Captain Benbow, in his own vessel, the Benbow frigate, was attacked in his passage to Cadiz by a Sallee rover, against whom he defended himself, though very unequal in the number of men, with the utmost bravery, till at last the Moors boarded him; but were quickly beaten out of his ship again, with the loss of thirteen men, whose heads Captain Benbow ordered to be cut off, and thrown into a tub of pork-pickle. When he arrived at Cadiz, he went a-shore, and ordered a negro servant to follow him, with the Moors' heads in a sack. He had scarcely landed, before the officers of the revenue inquired of his servant what he had in his sack? The captain answered, salt provisions for his own use. That may be, answered the officers; but we must insist upon seeing them. Captain Benbow alledged, that he was no stranger there; that he did not use to run goods, and pretended to take it very ill that he was suspected. The

* See the Complete History of Europe, for 1702, p. 496, 497. Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 303. Colliber's Columna Rostrata, p. 290.

officers told him, that the magistrates were sitting not far off, and that if they were satisfied with his word, his servant might carry the provision where he pleased; but that otherwise it was not in their power to grant any such dispensation.

The captain consented to the proposal; and away they marched to the custom-house, Mr. Benbow in the front, his man in the centre, and the officers in the rear. The magistrates, when he came before them, treated Captain Benbow with great civility; told him, they were sorry to make a point of such a trifle, but that, since he had refused to shew the contents of his sack to their officers, the nature of their employments obliged them to demand a sight of them; and that, as they doubted not they were salt provisions, the shewing them could be of no great consequence one way or other. "I told you," says the captain, sternly, "they were salt provisions for my own use. Cæsar, throw them down upon the table; and, gentlemen, if you like them, they are at your service." The Spaniards were exceedingly struck at the sight of the Moors' heads, and no less astonished at the account of the captain's adventure, who, with so small a force, had been able to defeat such a number of barbarians. They sent an account of the whole matter to the court of Madrid; and Charles II. then king of Spain, was so much pleased with it, that he would needs see the English captain, who made a journey to court, where he was received with great testimonies of respect; and not only dismissed with a handsome present, but his Catholic majesty was also pleased to write a letter in his behalf to King James, who upon the captain's return, gave him a ship, which was his introduction into the royal navy. *

After the Revolution, he distinguished himself by several successful cruizes in the channel, where he was em-

* This I had from the before-mentioned Mr. Calton.

ployed at the request of the merchants; and not only did his duty by protecting the trade, and annoying the enemy, but was also remarkably careful in examining the French ports, gaining intelligence, and forming schemes for disturbing the French commerce, and securing our own. For this reason, he was commonly made choice of to command the squadrons employed in bombarding the French ports, of which we have given a large account in our third volume;* and therefore it is altogether unnecessary to repeat those things here. I shall content myself, for this reason, with remarking, that he shewed no less courage than conduct on such occasions, being always present in his boat, as well to encourage as to instruct the seamen and engineers, according to his manner of ever enforcing his commands by his example.†

The diligence and activity of Captain Benbow, could not fail of recommending him to the favour of so wise and brave a prince as King William; to whose personal kindness, founded on a just sense of Mr. Benbow's merit, he owed his being so early promoted to a flag; after which he was generally employed as the most experienced seaman in the navy, to watch the motions of the French at Dunkirk, and to prevent, as far as it was possible, the depredations of Du Bart; in which he shewed such diligence, and did such signal service, by preserving our merchant ships, that he escaped the slightest censure, when libels flew about against almost every other officer of rank in the whole fleet. The truth really was, that the seamen generally considered Rear-admiral Benbow as their greatest patron; one, who not only used them well while under his care, but was always ready to interpose in

* See volume iii. of this work, particularly p. 157, 174. Burchet's Naval Memoirs, p. 231. Larrey Histoire d'Angleterre, tom. iv. p. 740.

† Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, &c.

their favour, as far as his interest went, when they were ill-treated by others. *

There was, at that time, a warm dispute as to the expediency of preferring mere seamen, or, as they were then called, tarpaulins, or gentlemen, in the navy: Admiral Benbow was consulted more than once by the king upon that subject, and always gave it as his opinion, that it was best to employ both; that a seaman should never lose preferment for want of recommendation, or a gentleman obtain it, barely from that motive. He was also a great enemy to party-distinctions, and thought a man's merit ought to be judged of from his actions at sea, rather than from the company he kept on shore; and for this reason, he lived upon good terms with the admirals of different parties, who were all of them ready to testify, upon any occasion, his courage and conduct. †

In the year 1697, he was sent with a small squadron before Dunkirk; where he saved the Virginia and West India fleet from falling into the hands of the French privateers, for which he received the thanks of the merchants. He would likewise have succeeded in restraining Du Bart from going out, if the Dutch Rear-admiral Vandergoes had been in a condition to assist him, or if the lords of the admiralty had been inclined to have taken his advice; for observing, in the beginning of August, that the French frigates were hauled into the bason, to clean, he judged their design to be what it really proved, to put to sea by the next spring tide; and, therefore, as his ships

* There were many severe pamphlets written in this reign against the managers of the fleet; but in all these we find him treated as an officer of the old stamp, one who had deserved the post to which he was raised, a steady servant to the crown, and the seaman's friend.

† I have these facts, not only from private authority, but also from a multitude of political treatises published under that reign; in which, as great freedom was used, so there is not the least reason to believe, that if our admiral had been guilty of any excesses in point of power, or any omissions in respect of duty, they would have been concealed.

were all foul, he wrote up to the board, to desire that four of the best sailers might be ordered to Sheerness to clean, and that the others might come to the Downs, not only to take in water, which they very much wanted, but also to heel and scrub; which he judged might have been done, before the spring tide gave the French an opportunity of getting over the Bar; but this was not then thought advisable, though he afterwards received orders for it, when the thing was too late. By this unlucky accident, the French had an opportunity given them of getting out with five clean ships; yet this, however, did not hinder the admiral from pursuing them as well as he was able; and some ships of his squadron had the good luck to take a Dunkirk privateer of ten guns, and forty men, which had done a great deal of mischief. This was one of the last actions of the war, and the rear-admiral soon after received orders to return home with the squadron under his command.*

It is very well known, that after the peace of Ryswick, and even while the partition treaties were negotiating, King William had formed a design of doing something very considerable in the West Indies. This project had long occupied the king's thoughts, into which, it is said, it was first put by Father Hennepin, who was extremely well acquainted with that part of the world. The king had turned it several times in his mind; and, at last, took a settled resolution, that, if the French attempted to deceive him, as he had great reason to believe they would, something of consequence should be done in that part of the world.

In the mean time, however, he thought fit to send a small squadron of three fourth-rates, into the West Indies, under the command of Rear-admiral Benbow; † who had

* Burghet, Burnet, and our own history under the naval transactions of the year 1697, vol. ii. p. 479.

† This was, properly speaking, a voyage chiefly of observation,

private instructions from the king, to make the best observations he could on the Spanish ports and settlements, but to keep as fair as possible with the governors, and to afford them any assistance, if they desired it. He was likewise instructed to watch the galleons; for the king of Spain, Charles II. was then thought to be in a dying condition. Rear-admiral Benbow sailed in the month of November, 1698, and did not arrive in the West Indies till the February following, where he found things in a very indifferent situation. Most of our colonies were in a bad condition, many of them engaged in warm disputes with their governors; the forces that should have been kept up in them for their defence, so reduced by sickness, desertion, and other accidents, that little or nothing was to be expected from them. The admiral carried with him Colonel Collingwood's regiment, which he disposed of to the best advantage in the Leeward Islands. *

He then addressed himself to execute his commission, and sailed for that purpose to Carthagena, where he met with a very indifferent reception from the governor, which he returned, by talking to him in a style so very plain, that forced him, though he had been wanting in civility, to make it up, in some measure, by doing justice; and in the same manner he proceeded with the governor of Porto Bello, as I have shewn elsewhere; but still the great ends of his commission remained altogether unanswered, not through any fault of the admiral, but for want of a sufficient force, either to engage the Spaniards to confide in him, or to perform any thing considerable, in case the French had sent a strong fleet into that part of the world,

that, upon his report, the king might the better take his measures upon his Catholic majesty's death, when, if a war were necessary, King William's plan was to make it as short as possible, by striking a great blow in Europe, and another in America at once.

* Burchet's Justification of his Naval Memoirs, p. 152, where he shews why so little could be done, even by so good an officer.

as it was then expected they would have done. This affair was complained of in parliament, where the smallness of the squadron, and the sending it so late, were very severely reflected upon ; * though, at the same time, great compliments were paid to Admiral Benbow's courage, capacity, and integrity, by both parties; and when he returned home two years after, he brought with him authentic testimonies of his having done the merchants and planters all the services they could either expect or desire ; so that he was received with the most cordial friendship by his majesty ; † who, as a mark of his royal favour, was graciously pleased to grant him an augmentation of arms, by adding to the three bent bows, which he and his family already bore, as many arrows.

The whole system of affairs in Europe was changed by the time Admiral Benbow came back ; the king had discovered the disingenuousness of the French, and saw himself under an absolute necessity of entering upon a new war, while he was sensible the nation was as yet very little recovered from the expenses of the last. One of his first cares was, to put the fleet into as good condition as it was possible, and to give the command of it to officers that might in all respects be depended upon ; and to this

* This most clearly decides as to his character, and ought to encourage every officer in like station to do his duty steadily and correctly, for then even the want of success may contribute to rise of reputation.

† It is certain, that the French had great advantages from the nature of their government, which enabled them to take much quicker measures for effecting their purposes, than we could do to oppose them ; but, as this was in a great degree owing to oversights and mismanagements in the former war, so it shews the necessity there is of strict and prudent enquiries, in order to obtain the confidence of this nation ; which, whenever it is acquired, will be always found an overbalance even for the French power ; whereas, if the people of England entertain any doubts of the manner in which their money is to be employed, it will often be found difficult, some time or other, perhaps impracticable, to make them part with it.

disposition of the king, Mr. Benbow owed his being declared vice-admiral of the blue. He was at that time cruising off Dunkirk, in order to prevent, what was then much dreaded here, an invasion. There was, as yet, no war declared between the two crowns : but this was held to be no security against France ; and it was no sooner known that they were fitting out a strong squadron at Dunkirk, than it was firmly believed to be intended to cover a descent. Vice-admiral Benbow satisfied the ministry, that there was no danger on this side ; and then it was resolved to prosecute, without delay, the projects formerly concerted, in order to disappoint the French in their views upon the Spanish succession ; to facilitate which, it was thought absolutely necessary to send, without delay, a strong squadron to the West Indies.

This squadron was to consist of two third-rates, and eight fourths ; which was as great a strength as it was judged could be at that time spared ; and it was thought indispensibly requisite that it should be under the orders of an officer, whose courage and conduct might be safely relied on, and whose experience might give the world a good opinion of the choice made of him for this important command ; upon the right management of which, it was believed, the success of the war would, in a great measure, depend. Mr. Benbow was thought of by the ministry, as soon as the expedition was resolved ; but the king would not hear of it. He said, that Benbow was in a manner just come home from thence, where he had met with nothing but difficulties ; and that, therefore, it was but fair some other officer should take his turn.* One or two were named, and consulted ; but either their health, or

* This was the American branch of the grand scheme before hinted, and was to seize the galleons ; at the same time, the fleet which was to sail into the Mediterranean took Cadiz, and gave us a secure entrance into Andalusia ; than which, a more simple, more noble, or more practicable design, the human mind could not conceive.

their affairs were in such disorder, that they most earnestly desired to be excused; upon which the king said merrily to some of his ministers, alluding to the dress and appearance of these gentlemen, "Well then, I find we must spare our beaus, and send honest Benbow."

His majesty, accordingly, sent for him upon this occasion, and asked him, whether he was willing to go to the West Indies, assuring him, if he was not, he would not take it amiss, if he desired to be excused. Mr. Benbow answered bluntly, "That he did not understand such compliments; that he thought he had no right to chuse his station; and that, if his majesty thought fit to send him to the East or West Indies, or any where else, he would cheerfully execute his orders as became him." Thus the matter was settled, in very few words, and the command of the West India squadron conferred, without any mixture of envy, on our Vice-admiral Benbow. *

To conceal the design of this squadron, but above all to prevent the French from having any just notions of its force, Sir George Rooke, then admiral of the fleet, had orders to convoy it as far as Scilly, and to send a strong squadron with it thence, to see it well into the sea; all which he punctually performed; so that Admiral Benbow departed in the month of September, 1701; the world in general believing, that he was gone with Sir John Munden, who commanded the squadron that accompanied him into the Mediterranean; and to render this still more credible, our minister at Madrid was ordered to demand the free use of the Spanish ports; which was accordingly performed. † As soon as it was known in England, that Vice-admiral Benbow had sailed, with ten ships only, for

* Most of these particulars I had from persons of reputation, upon their own knowledge.

† Barchet's Naval History, p. 590. History of Europe, for 1701, 117. Life of King William, p. 627.

the West Indies, and it was discovered that the great armament at Brest, with which we were long amused, was intended for the same part of the world; a mighty clamour was raised here at home, as if he had been sent to be sacrificed, and heavy reflections were made upon the inactivity of our grand fleet; whereas, in truth, the whole affair had been conducted with all imaginable prudence, and the vice-admiral had as considerable a squadron, as, all things maturely weighed, it was, in that critical juncture, thought possible to be spared. *

It is certain, that King William formed great hopes of this expedition, knowing well that Vice-admiral Benbow would execute, with the greatest spirit and punctuality, the instructions he had received; which were to engage the Spanish governors, if possible, to disown King Philip; or, in case that could not be brought about, to make himself master of the galleons. In this design it is very plain, that the admiral would have succeeded, notwithstanding the smallness of his force, if his officers had done their duty; and it is no less certain, that the anxiety the vice-admiral was under, about the execution of his orders, was the principal reason for his maintaining so strict discipline, which proved unluckily the occasion of his coming to an untimely end. Yet there is no reason to censure either the king's project, or the admiral's conduct; both were right in themselves, though neither was attended with the success it deserved. †

* The sending Vice-admiral Benbow at that critical season, was a very judicious measure, the faults were committed afterwards. Sir John Munden was punished for the consequence, rather than the nature of his error. A strong squadron should have been then sent to the support of Benbow, which had saved him, and served the nation.

† That I may not seem to speak altogether without book, I shall cite a passage from a pamphlet, published in 1702, entitled, *The Present Condition of the English Navy*, p. 24. "A new war I believe to be unavoidable; and we are much beholden to the last parliament, that we are not entered into it already, and so become

The French knew too well the importance of the Spanish West Indies, not to think of providing for their security, as soon as ever they resolved to accept the will of his catholic majesty, the late King Charles II. ; which, it may be, was some time before his death, though, to save appearances, solemnly debated after the contents of the will were communicated by the privy council of Spain. The officer whom his most christian majesty made choice of to command the squadron which was first to be sent thither, was the famous M. du Casse, governor of St. Domingo. He was to carry with him one hundred officers

" the Fight-alls, the Pay-alls, and the Lose-alls, of Europe, as we
 " have hitherto been. But, if we have a war managed as the last
 " was, we had better spend a little money in booms and chains, to
 " secure our ships in harbour, than to send them abroad to spend our
 " money, lose our reputation, and not secure our trade. I cannot
 " persuade myself, that the parliament of England will evermore send
 " the native strength of their country abroad in other people's quar-
 " rels, and be at the charge of levies, clothing, arms, and transporta-
 " tions, to put their own liberties in danger at home, by a standing
 " army, when they have done the business of our allies abroad. The
 " men we lost, and the money we spent in the last war, as also, how
 " hard it was to get them disbanded, in opposition to the interest of
 " men that wanted to support their titles to their illegal grants, and
 " ill gotten gains, is too fresh in our memories, ever to bring our-
 " selves under the like hardships. I foresee that the war will be now
 " at sea, and we have but a very ill omen of success, from the last
 " summer's expedition of our fleet. Our modern Whigs, in their
 " legion letters, and Kentish petitions, exclaimed against the par-
 " liament, because they raised no more money ; but I hope these folk,
 " if they have any brains, or honesty, are now sensible of their
 " groundless complaint, when they find how little has been done for
 " what was then raised. They gave one million five hundred thou-
 " sand pounds for the fleet, for this expedition ; and what has been
 " the effect ? the whole fleet went to convoy Benbow in his way to
 " the West Indies, and, while they were gone, our modern Whigs,
 " boasted of their conduct, and built castles in the air, to hold the
 " money they should bring home in the Spanish galleons ; but, in a
 " short time, we found them all at Spithead, except a few ships that
 " proceeded with Benbow to the West Indies, where, if they be not
 " talmashed, they have good fortune."

of all ranks, who were intended to discipline the Spanish militia in the kingdom of Mexico; but, before this could be done, it was thought necessary to send M. du Casse to Madrid, to ask the consent of the Spanish council, which took up some time; for though the Spaniards could not but be sensible in how wretched a situation their affairs in the West Indies were; yet, it was with great reluctance that they gave way to this expedient, though a little reflection, of which no nation is more capable, would have shewn them, that in reality they had no choice to make; but, when they had once come to a resolution, that M. du Casse should be sent, they were continually soliciting the French court to despatch him immediately. *

The French councils, which were better conducted, had, as we already suggested, foreseen all these difficulties; and, therefore, had a squadron ready at Brest, consisting of five ships of the line, and several large vessels laden with arms and ammunition, which, under the command of the Marquis de Coetlogon, in the month of April, 1701, sailed for the Spanish West Indies; and, on the 20th of October, the Count de Chateau Renaud sailed also with fourteen ships of the line, and sixteen frigates, to meet the galleons, that were supposed to be already departed from the Havannah, under the escort of the Marquis de Coetlogon; and, after all this, M. du Casse likewise sailed with his squadron; from which the English reader will easily see, that as Admiral Benbow received no supplies, he was truly in danger of being crushed by the superiour power of our enemies, and that extraordinary diligence which was used to strengthen and support them. †

* *Memoires de la Torres*, tom. i, ii, iii, where it manifestly appears, that the hopes of preserving their monarchy entire, having the protection of the fleets and armies of France, and being relieved from the pillages to which they had been exposed during the last reign, determined the grandees to call in the duke of Anjou.

† *Histoire Militaire*, tom. v. and in general all the French historians, who are extremely careful to preserve distinct accounts, even

When Vice-admiral Benbow arrived first at Jamaica, which was at the close of the year 1701, he made such just and wise dispositions for securing our own trade, and annoying that of the enemy, that the French saw, with great amazement, all their schemes, which they had been enabled to form, by their having much earlier intelligence than we of the intended war, defeated; and their own writers fairly admit, that even after the arrival of the Marquis de Coetlogon, they were constrained to act only on the defensive; and found all the grand projects they had meditated, for attacking Jamaica and the Leeward Islands, entirely frustrated.*

The Dutch accounts, at the same time, from Curoçoa, said plainly, that, notwithstanding all the blustering of the French, Vice-admiral Benbow, with a small English squadron, remained master of those seas; nor did he fail to make use of this advantage, by taking many prizes, and by giving all imaginable countenance to the private trade carried on by the English on the Spanish coasts: but, in a few weeks time, the scene began to change; for the vice-admiral had first the news of M. Chateau Renaud's arrival at Martinico, with a squadron much stronger than his own; and, soon after, information that this squadron had been joined by the Marquis de Coetlogon from the Havannah, which alarmed the inhabitants of Barbadoes and Jamaica excessively, because we had no force capable of resisting this French fleet, in case their commanders were determined to act offensively.†

of such schemes as have proved abortive; and in this they are certainly right, because it secures their reputation with posterity, and shews they did not fail from want of skill or attention, but from want of fortune.

* Histoire de St. Domingue, tom. iv. p. 107. Memoires Historiques et Chronologiques.

† Burchet's Naval History, p. 592. Annals of Queen Anne, vol. i. p. 144. British Empire in America, vol. ii. p. 337.

In this uncertain situation, things continued to the end of April, 1702, when the vice-admiral resolved, notwithstanding there was great want of men on board the squadron, to put to sea, in order to cruize between Jamaica and Hispaniola; and accordingly he sailed on the 8th of May; but, before he was quite clear of the island of Jamaica, he met with Rear-admiral Whetstone, with whom he returned, to communicate to the government some orders received from England; having first sent the Falmouth, Ruby, and Experiment, to cruize off Petit Guavas. He had advice about the middle of May, that, on the 18th of the preceding month, there passed by Camanagoto, on Terra Firma, seventeen tall ships, which steered towards the west end of Cuba. These ships he judged to be part of M. Chateau Renaud's squadron, and that they were bound to the Havannah, to offer their service for convoying home the flota; but he had not strength to follow them, without subjecting the island to the insults of those ships which were at Leogane. Some little time after, the master of a Spanish sloop from Cuba, acquainted him, that M. Chateau Renaud was actually arrived at the Havannah, with twenty-six ships of war, waiting for the flota from La Vera Cruz; and this was confirmed by the ships he had sent out, which, during their cruize in those parts, had taken four prizes; one of them a ship mounted with no more than twenty-four, but capable of carrying forty guns.

The vice-admiral being likewise informed, by a sloop from Petit Guavas, that four ships, with provisions, were bound from thence to the Havannah, he sent three frigates to intercept them, between Cape St. Nicholas, and Cape Mayze, the very track leading thither; but they had not the expected success. The same day he detached Rear-

* Histoire de St. Domingue, tom. iv. liv. xi. p. 197. Memoires Historique et Politique, tom. xxxiii. p. 657. Memoires Historiques et Chronologiques.

admiral Whetstone, with two third-rates, three fourths, and a fire-ship, to intercept M. du Casse, who, he had heard, was expected at Port Lewis, at the west end of Hispaniola, a little within the Isle of Ash, with four ships of war, to settle the Assiento at Carthagena, and to destroy the trade of the English and Dutch for negroes; resolving to sail himself, in five or six days, with the remainder of the squadron, in search of these French ships, in case the rear-admiral should miss them. *

I have given so full and particular an account, in the latter part of last volume, of what happened on the admiral's sailing to intercept Du Casse, that I shall confine myself here to such circumstances as are personal only. The scheme formed by Admiral Benbow, for the destruction of the French force in the West Indies, and having a chance for the galleons, shews him to have been a very able and judicious commander, and effectually disproves that idle and ridiculous calumny of his being a mere seaman. He saw, that the French officers were excessively embarrassed by the wayward conduct of the Spaniards, who would not take a single step out of their own road, though for their own service. He resolved to take advantage of this, and to attack the smallest of their squadrons, having before sent home such an account of the number and value of the Spanish ships, and of the strength of the French squadrons that were to escort them, as might enable the ministry to take all proper measures for intercepting them, either in their passage from the West Indies, or when it should be known that they were arrived in the European seas. When he had done this, he sailed from Jamaica on the 11th of July, with two third-rates, six fourths, a fire-ship, bomb, tender, and sloop, in hopes of meeting Rear-admiral Whetstone; but

missing him, he failed not, however, first to give the utmost disturbance to the French settlements in St. Domingo, and then sailed in search of Du Casse's squadron, which he came up with and engaged, on Wednesday the 19th of August, and fought him bravely for five days; which not only demonstrates the courage and conduct of this gallant seaman, but the fidelity and attachment of his own ship's company; since it is impossible he could, in such circumstances, have maintained the engagement so long, if his inferior officers, and all the common seamen, had not been very affectionate. The French accounts, indeed, represent the whole affair to their own advantage; but M. du Casse, who was a brave man, and withal by much the best judge of this matter, has put the thing out of dispute, by the following short letter, written by him immediately after his arrival at Carthage~~na~~; the original of which is still, or was very lately, in the hands of Admiral Benbow's family.*

“ SIR,

“ I had little hopes, on Monday last, but to have supped
“ in your cabin: but it pleased God to order it other-
“ wise; I am thankful for it. As for those cowardly
“ captains who deserted you, hang them up; for, by—,
“ they deserve it.

“ Yours,

“ DU CASSE.”

The first care the admiral had, after his return to Jamaica, was, to provide for the officers who distinguished themselves in the late engagement; and next, to bring those to justice, who had so basely betrayed their trust; and in this he was so earnest, that perhaps he failed a little in point of form, since, in order to their trial, he

* The copy of this letter I received from Mr. Calton, whose authority I have so often mentioned.

granted a commission, which it has been questioned, whether he might legally do; but he certainly acted from two very excusable reasons; the first was, that he found himself in no condition to preside in a court-martial, having been ill of a fever, which ensued upon cutting off his leg from the time of his coming a-shore; the other, that, in case he had been able to assist upon that occasion, he was desirous of declining it, from his having so great a personal interest in the affair. After the court-martial was over, the admiral lived near a month; for that court sat on the 6th of October, and the admiral died on the 4th of November following. *

He was all that time extremely sensible of his danger, and never entertained any flattering hopes of recovery. Yet, during that long illness, he supported his character as an English admiral, with the same firmness he had shewn during the engagement, giving all the necessary orders for protecting the trade, that could have been expected from him, if he had been in perfect health; and, in the letters he wrote home to his lady, he discovered much greater anxiety for the interest of the nation, than for his private fortune, or the concerns of his family. The queen had so just a regard for the memory of this gallant man, that she spoke of his loss with great regret; and, as I have already shewn, would not suffer herself to be teased into an ill timed act of mercy, though, like all her family, most tender in her own nature, towards those, who, through their cowardice, were sprinkled with his blood. His sister had, in his life-time, presented the admiral's picture to the corporation of Shrewsbury, who caused it to be hung up in their town-hall; where it still remains, as a testimony of the regard his countrymen had for this worthy officer and true patriot. †

* London Gazette, No. 3886. History of Europe for 1702, p. 497. British Empire in America, vol. ii. p. 339.

† Burchet's Naval History, p. 598. Boyer's Life of Queen Anne,

The vice-admiral left behind him a numerous posterity of both sexes; but his sons dying, all of them without issue, his two surviving daughters, became co-heiresses; and of these, the eldest married Paul Calton, Esq. of Milton, near Abingdon, in the county of Berks. John Benbow, one of his sons, claims some notice in a work of this nature, independently of his relation to his gallant father. He was bred to the sea, and went to the East Indies in quality of fourth mate, on board the *Degrave*, Captain William Young, commander, which ship passed through the Downs, on February 19, 1701, when Admiral Benbow lay there with his squadron, ready to proceed to the West Indies. The *Degrave*, was a fine ship, of seven hundred tons, and carried fifty-two guns; she was bound for Fort St. George, in the East Indies, where she safely arrived, and proceeded from thence to Bengal, where her captain and first mate died; by which means the command devolved on the Captain's son, who was second mate, and Mr. John Benbow became second mate. From Bengal, they sailed for the Cape of Good Hope; but, in going out of the river, the ship ran a-ground and stuck fast; she floated again the next high tide, and put to sea with little or no damage, as they then imagined; but they very soon after found her so leaky, they were forced to keep two chain-pumps continually going. In this condition they sailed two months, before that they reached the Island of St. Maurice, at that time inhabited by the Dutch, who received them kindly, gave them all the assistance in their power, permitting them to set up a tent on shore, into which they brought most part of their cargo, having unladen their ship, in order to search for the leak; which,

p. 49, 50, 51. Oldmixon's *History of the Stuarts*, vol. ii. p. 303. *Columna Rostrata*, p. 291. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. xxxiv. p. 335, where it is said, his body was sent for home in order to be solemnly interred at the public expense, which, considering the manner of his death, would have been certainly right.

however, they could not find. After about a month's stay at the island before-mentioned, and taking on board about fifty Lascars, or Moorish seamen, they sailed directly for the Cape of Good Hope; they had then about one hundred and seventy hands on board, and, though the Lascars could not do much in point of navigation, they were, however, of great use, as they eased the English seamen from the labour of pumping. Yet, after all, it was fatal for them, that this rash resolution was taken, of putting to sea before they stopped, or even discovered the leak; for in a few days time it gained so much upon them, that, notwithstanding they pumped day and night, it was as much as they could do, to keep the vessel above water, though they were still above six hundred leagues from their intended port. *

The ship's company, believing that common danger put them all on an equality, represented to Captain Young, that his design of proceeding to the Cape, was become impracticable; and that therefore the wisest thing he could do, was to make the nearest land, which was that of Madagascar, to the southward of which, they had sailed about an hundred leagues. The captain complied with their advice, and endeavoured to run the ship on shore; but that was found impracticable likewise; so that when they were within a quarter of a mile of the coast, they let go an anchor first, and then cut down all her masts and rigging, and threw their guns and goods overboard, in hopes of making the ship swim nearer; but this being found also impossible, and having already lost their long-boat and pinnace, they resolved to make a raft, which they did in the night; and the next morning Mr. Pratt,

* Most of this account is taken from the travels of Robert Drury; which book, so far as it relates to Mr. Benbow, is very exact, as I have been informed by this gentleman's relations, from whom also I had some other circumstances, which the reader will find interspersed through this remarkable history.

their chief mate, with four men, went in a little boat on shore, with a rope, by which they proposed to warp the raft.

This boat was staved to pieces, before it reached the land; but the men escaped, and secured the rope, which brought the raft on shore, with the rest of the ship's company, except the captain, who remained last on board the ship, and did not leave her, till he found she began to break to pieces, and then he threw himself into the sea, and swam a-shore. They were quickly made prisoners by the king of that part of the island, who carried them fifty miles up into the country, where they found one Captain Drummond, and one Captain Stewart, with a few of their ship's crew, in the same situation with themselves; and who soon let them into a perfect knowledge of their condition, by assuring them that the king intended to make them serve him in his wars, and would never permit them to return to Europe; which struck them, as may be imagined, with the utmost consternation.*

* This Captain Drummond is the same I have mentioned in my former volume, as commander of the *Rising Sun*, a ship belonging to the Scots East India Company; he came to trade at Madagascar, and while his ship lay at anchor, she was surprized by a pirate, who suffered the captain, with his friend Captain Stewart, and a few hands, to go on shore in the long-boat, in the territories of the same prince who made Mr. Benbow prisoner. It was for the supposed murder of this Captain Drummond, that one Captain Green, a very honest English gentleman, his mate, Mr. Mather, and several other persons, were executed in Scotland, on the testimony of a black, and more had been executed, but for the care of the late worthy duke of Argyle, who interposed out of pure generosity, and procured their pardons. I remember, while a boy, to have seen this Captain Green's original journal, in the custody of a merchant in Edinburgh, who did him all the service in his power, at the hazard of his own life; from which journal it appeared, that they only met with Captain Drummond at sea, as they were homeward bound, on board whose ship Captain Green dined, and received from him a present of a bible, which was made use of to corroborate the black's evidence; who, from a wicked spirit of revenge, perjured himself, that he might murder his master.

In this distress, the Captains Drummond, Stewart, and Young, held a consultation, in conjunction with Mr. Pratt, and Mr. Benbow, in which Captain Drummond proposed it, as the only expedient by which they could possibly recover their liberty, to seize the black king, and march off with him prisoner into some other province of the island, where the ships more frequently came. Mr. Benbow warmly espoused this proposal, and assisted with great courage in the execution of it, which was performed with more ease than was expected; and the king, his son, and his queen, were made prisoners; but the queen was released by Captain Young, out of mere pity. It is not very easy to conceive a bolder enterprize than this, when between fifty and sixty white people, and not above half of these armed, carried off a black prince, out of the midst of his capital, and in the sight of some hundreds, nay, some thousands, of his subjects, better armed than themselves; who were, notwithstanding, restrained from firing upon them, by Captain Young's threatening immediately to kill their king if they did.

Afterwards, however, they mismanaged the thing strangely; for, upon a proposal made by the negroes to give them six guns for their king, it was agreed to give him up, upon a supposition that the blacks would then follow them no farther; and this, notwithstanding Mr. Benbow warmly opposed it, and shewed them the mischievous consequences with which so wild a measure must be attended. The king being given up, the blacks still continued to follow them, though at a distance, at last it was agreed to give up the prince too, upon a supposition, that this would put an end to the pursuit; taking, however, three people, who, the blacks told them, were the principal men in their country, by way of hostages, of whom two soon made their escape; and then the blacks not only pursued them, but began to fire upon them, which hitherto they had not done. The weakness of

their own conduct, and the wisdom of Mr. Benbow's advice, was by this time visible to every body; and, as it now appeared clearly they had nothing for it but fighting, they began to dispose their little army in order of battle. Thirty-six armed men were divided into four bodies, commanded by the three captains and Mr. Benbow; but after an engagement that lasted from noon till six in the evening, it was agreed to treat. The negroes demanded their arms, and then promised to let them go; and, at the persuasion of Captain Young, this wild proposition was accepted, though vigorously opposed by Mr. Benbow; but, when it came to be put in execution, the Captains Drummond and Stewart,* with four or five of their crew, refused to deliver their arms, and marched off unperceived in the night, accompanied by Mr. Benbow, and got safe to Port Dauphine, while the rest were cruelly murdered, except one Robert Drury, a boy of fifteen or sixteen years old, whom they preserved, and made a slave. As for Mr. Benbow, after remaining several years among the negroes, where he lived after their manner, and went naked, he escaped on board a Dutch ship, the captain of which had been well acquainted with his father, and, for his sake, treated him with great kindness and respect. †

* The reader may, perhaps, be desirous of knowing what became of this Captain Drummond, of which nothing more can be said, than what is found in the travels of Drury, who remained so many years upon the island. He informs us, that he saw Captain Drummond once, several years after they parted, and that he was then at liberty, and lived as happily as it was possible for a man of his education to do in such a country; and he farther adds, that the year he came away, which was in 1716, he was informed that Captain Drummond had been killed by a negroe; but without any particular circumstances.

† I had this particular of Mr. Benbow's escape, in a Dutch ship, from several persons of Mr. Benbow's acquaintance, who had received it from his own mouth; for his escape was so wonderful, and attended with such surprising circumstances, that many people had the curiosity to visit Mr. Benbow, in order to hear it from himself, in which

This Mr. John Benbow lived many years after here in England, and composed a work, entitled, "A Complete Description of the South Part of the Island of Madagascar;" which was a very curious and accurate performance, and therefore, often borrowed by his acquaintance, with some of whom it still remains; nor have the family, after the strictest search, been able to retrieve it. It would be certainly a kind present to the learned world, and, at the same time, an act of great justice to the memory of Mr. Benbow, if any gentleman, in whose hands it now is, would publish it, because it contains many things of a commercial, as well as historical and philosophical nature. I do not know whether, strictly speaking, so long an account of Mr. Benbow's misfortunes be reconcileable to a work of this nature; but as the recital of them cannot but be entertaining to the reader; and as so many remarkable facts might have been buried in oblivion, if I had not taken this occasion to preserve them, I hope I shall at least stand excused, if not justified for the liberty I have taken; and, in this hope, I return to the thread of my history, and to the memoirs which occur next in order of time. *

he very readily gratified them, though otherwise a man of much taciturnity.

* As I have made great use of Drury's Travels, I think it necessary to insert the following certificate, by Captain William Mackett, whose reputation was so well established, both for understanding and probity, that nobody judged it possible for him to be either deceived himself in a case of this nature, or capable of entering into a design of deceiving or amusing others; and, therefore, his certificate seems sufficient to establish this author's credit. It runs thus:

"This is to certify, That Robert Drury, fifteen years a slave in Madagascar, now living in London, was redeemed from thence, and brought into England, his native country, by myself. I esteem him an honest, industrious man, of good reputation, and do firmly believe, that the account he gives of his strange and surprising adventures is genuine and authentic.

"May 7, 1728.

"W. MACKETT."

MEMOIRS OF SIR RALPH DELAVAL, KNT. VICE-ADMIRAL OF THE RED, AND JOINT-ADMIRAL AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE FLEET.

IT is a misfortune, which we must be content to deplore, without hopes of redress, since it is a misfortune flowing from liberty, that in all free countries the greatest men are liable to be sacrificed to clamour; and innocence is not always a security against the shafts of envy. This was the case of the gentleman of whom we are now to speak: and who, in the short space of one single summer, was in the highest credit, lost it, and was actually laid aside; so fluctuating a thing is human happiness; so fickle a possession is popularity, and so little to be depended on a prince's favour! These are the reflections that will naturally arise on the reading the memoirs of our admiral; and they are premised only to shew, that I think as the reader does, and do not believe myself obliged to follow the humours of those, who have treated his memory with the same prejudice with which they pursued him living.

Sir Ralph Delaval was the son of a worthy gentleman in the north of England, of the same name, distinguished for his loyalty to King Charles I. and King Charles II. and to whose house General Lesley had leave given him by Cromwell to retire, after the fatal battle of Worcester.* Mr. Ralph Delaval came very early into the navy, under the protection of the duke of York, who treated him with great kindness, and took care he should not lose his turn in preferment. By this means it was, that he came to be captain of the York, a third-rate man-of-war, in which station the revolution found him.†

* Complete History of Europe, for 1707, p. 445.

† Memoirs of the State of the Royal Navy of England for ten Years, ending December, 1688, by Samuel Pepys, Esq. secretary to the admiralty, during the reigns of King Charles II. and King James II. London, 1690, 12mo. p. 165.

He concurred heartily in that great change, though he had no hand in making it; and, therefore, King William, who was a prince of great penetration, soon promoted him to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue; and at the same time conferred upon him the honour of knighthood; in this station he served under the earl of Torrington, in the famous battle off Beachy Head, in which the English and Dutch fleets were beaten by the French on the 30th of June, 1690; but without any impeachment of his own character, either in point of courage or conduct, as appears plainly by his being appointed president of the court-martial which tried the earl, and which sat on board the Kent, on the 10th of December in the same year, and in which he was unanimously acquitted. If I mistake not, the share he had in that affair subjected him to the hatred of a certain set of men ever after; but that he was in reality no way to blame, will appear by his being immediately after declared vice-admiral of the blue by King William, in which station he served, the next year, under Admiral Russel; and in the winter of the same year, was appointed to command a squadron in the Soundings; where, if he did little, it was owing to the bad season of the year, and contrary winds, by which he was four times beaten back into Torbay; however, he punctually executed his orders, and thereby hindered the French from relieving Limerick, which much facilitated the reduction of the kingdom of Ireland.*

In 1692, when it was known the French were fitting out by far the greatest fleet they ever had at sea, he was appointed to serve under Admiral Russel, was also declared vice-admiral of the red, and entrusted with a large squadron of English and Dutch ships, with orders to cruize for our homeward-bound fleet from the Mediterranean,

* Burchet's Naval History, 428. Bishop Kennet's Complete History of England, vol. iii. Pointer's Chronological Historian, vol. i. p. 375.

and then join the main fleet; which he performed with great conduct and success; and having first seen seventy of our merchant-men safe into port, he next, according to his instructions, joined Admiral Russel on the 13th of May, at St. Helen's; which was then justly considered as a very signal service, for if he had been twenty-four hours later, it might have been of the greatest prejudice to the service. *

On the 15th of the same month, a council of war was called of all the flag-officers on board the fleet, wherein it was resolved, in obedience to the positive commands of Queen Mary who was then regent, to sail the first fair weather for the coast of France. In this council of war the admiral took notice of an intimation which had been given him by the secretary-of-state, that reports were spread, as if several captains of the fleet had given secret assurances to King James's friends on shore, of their readiness to join them, and of their confidence that they should be able to carry over a great part of the fleet. As nobody knew against whom this information was particularly pointed, it was thought necessary, that the queen might be thoroughly satisfied of their loyalty and integrity, to draw up the following paper, which was done upon the spot. †

" We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects
 " and servants, flag-officers and captains in your majesty's
 " fleet, out of a deep and grateful sense of your majesty's
 " good and just opinion of our loyalty and fidelity, im-
 " parted to us by the Right Honourable Admiral Russel,
 " in a letter to him from the earl of Nottingham, princi-
 " pal secretary-of-state, do, in behalf of ourselves, and all

* Burnet's Naval Memoirs, p. 134, 135. This is a proof of his zeal and activity in the service, independent of its consequences.

† London Gazette, No. 2767. Kennet's Complete History of England, vol. iii. p. 640. Bishop Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 92.

“ the other officers and seamen, humbly presume to address ourselves to your majesty at this juncture, to undeceive the world as to those false and malicious reports which have been lately spread in prejudice of your majesty’s service, by people disaffected to the government, and who have an aversion to the quiet and good of their country: that there are some among us who are not truly zealous for, and entirely devoted to, the present happy establishment. We do, therefore, most humbly beg leave to add to our repeated oaths, this assurance of our fidelity: That we will, with all imaginable alacrity and resolution, venture ourselves in defence of the government, and of the religion and liberty of our country, against all Popish invaders whatsoever. And, that God Almighty may preserve your majesty’s most sacred person, direct your councils, and prosper your arms by sea and land against your enemies, may all people say Amen, with your majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects. Dated on board the *Britannia*, at St. Helen’s, the 15th of May, 1692.” This address was signed by Sir John Ashby, admiral of the blue; Sir Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral of the red; George Rooke, Esq. vice-admiral of the blue; Sir Cloudesley Shovel; rear-admiral of the red; Richard Carter, Esq. rear-admiral of the blue; and all the captains of the fleet. *

On the 18th of May, Admiral Russel stood over to the French coast, and, on the 19th, engaged the enemy in the glorious battle of La Hogue; in which Sir Ralph Delaval, as vice-admiral of the red, did his duty with great reputation, and, pursuant to the admiral’s order, formed the rear

* It would have been of some use, if the names of these captains had been printed, of which I take notice, in order, as far as it is in my power, to prevent future omissions of the like kind, which defeat us of lights in history, which are often of more consequence than perhaps the writers of the Gazettes can imagine.

of the fleet in such a manner, that though several of the French ships that had suffered least, hovered round, and attempted to do mischief, they were obliged, at length, to seek their safety, as the rest of the fleet had done before, by a plain flight; * and he afterwards did remarkable service in destroying some of the enemy's largest ships. †

It was natural to expect, after so gallant an action as this, that every officer who had a signal concern therein, should be encouraged and promoted; but it fell out, in some measure, otherwise, from that cause which is generally fatal to the merits of English officers, the power of party-interest. A spirit had been raised against Admiral Russel, who commanded in chief; and King William, for certain reasons found himself under the necessity of laying that great man aside, which also obliged him to put the command of the fleet into commission. ‡

Accordingly, Henry Killegrew, Esq. Sir Ralph Delaval, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, Knts. were appointed joint-admirals of the fleet, which was reputed one of the greatest the maritime powers had ever sent to sea. § In the month of May, the admirals formed their line-of-battle at St. Helen's, which consisted of seventy ships of the line, thir-

* See the Admiral's Letter to the earl of Nottingham, and all the relations hitherto published of that engagement, in which this fact of preserving the rear of our fleet is allowed to have secured and established the victory, and to have contributed the most of any thing to the defeat of the French.

† Life of King William, p. 332. Burchet's Naval Memoirs, p. 145. Larrey Histoire d'Angleterre, tom. iv. p. 712.

‡ Burchet's Naval Memoirs, p. 157, where it appears, that Admiral Russel was exceedingly uneasy at his having nothing to do, but lye tossing at sea, expecting troops, transports, and orders, which came at last so preposterously, that after all he could do nothing. This uneasiness was esteemed pride and peevishness, for which the subverter of the naval power of France, as this gentleman was owned to be, in the medals struck for the victory, was for the present deprived of command.

§ See vol. iii. p. 121.

teen frigates, nineteen fire-ships, besides brigantines, bomb-vessels, and hospital-ships. Bishop Burnet, * and some other writers, would have us believe, that the inactivity of this mighty naval armament was owing to the secret inclination that two of the admirals, Killegrew and Delaval, had for the service of King James; but the real truth of the matter was, that the fleet was not either victualled or manned; the men being put to short allowance at their first going to sea, and five regiments of foot ordered on board from Portsmouth, purely to make up an appearance of manning.

Besides all this, the ministry were absolutely deceived in their intelligence; in consequence of which they sent impracticable, inconsistent, and, at last, contrary orders. For, first, the admirals were enjoined to attack the French fleet at Brest, to which port it was believed the Toulon squadron was already come, and dispositions were accordingly made for that service; but upon sending the War-spirit to look into Brest, it was found there was not so much as a ship there. Before the return of this frigate, the grand fleet had convoyed Sir George Rooke, with the great Turkey fleet under his care, twenty leagues farther than it was first intended; and yet they had scarcely parted with them, before they had an account, that the Toulon squadron was actually in the Mediterranean. It was then proposed, in a council of war, to follow Sir George to Lisbon; but this design was laid aside for two reasons; first, because the court having already sent orders to Sir George to return, it was very uncertain, whether they should be able to meet him; and, secondly, because upon a review of their provisions, and after an equal repartition of them it was found, they had not sufficient for such an expedition, even at short allowance. †

* History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 103.

† This is among the number of those transactions which never are to be understood from general histories, and which are with very

The admirals having communicated all this to the court, orders were sent them on the 25th of August, to return to St. Helen's, which they did; and having landed the regiments they had on board, the fleet separated, part of the great ships were laid up, and the remainder were appointed for a winter guard; and thus, if they can be so called, the operations of the campaign ended.* The misfortune that befel Sir George Rooke, and the Turkey fleet under his convoy, naturally occasioned a great clamour; and upon this, a very strict enquiry was made into the affair, first by the privy-council, and then by parliament, where, on the 17th of November, the house of commons came to a resolution, "That, in the affair of conveying Sir George Rooke to sea, there had been a "notorious and treacherous mismanagement;" and yet, when the question was put for censuring the admirals who commanded in chief, it met with a negative.†

We must therefore, in order to reconcile these two votes, suppose the opinion of the house of commons to have been, that this notorious and treacherous mismanagement was not in them: And indeed Bishop Burnet, though he condemns the admiral, has left us such an account of their justification, as seems to confirm this supposition; for he says, that the orders sent them from the

great difficulty unravelled in a house of commons. He who obeys orders does his duty certainly, though he should do his country injury by his obedience, because a general example of disobedience, is of much worse consequence than any particular wrong step with regard to the conduct of an expedition; and besides, if you take away this general rule of obedience, it is impossible for men to know how to conduct themselves from the highest to the lowest station; add to all which, that where men receive doubtful, perplexed and confused orders, they ought, in regard to their own safety, to adhere closely to the letter, and leave such as drew the orders to answer for them.

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 490. The Present State of Europe for the Month of August, 1693. London Gazette, No. 2901.

† Kennet's History of England, vol. iii. p. 657. Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 37. Chandler's Debates, vol. ii. p. 420, 422.

cabinet council, were ill given, and worse executed.* Now, it may be questioned, how bad orders can be well executed? But the bishop goes farther; he tells us, that these orders were weakly drawn, ambiguous and defective; to which he adds, that the admirals shewed no other sign of zeal, than in strictly obeying these orders. I should be glad to know, what other zeal they could shew, when under such instructions, and with a fleet in such a condition.†

The business, however, ended in laying Mr. Killegrew and Sir Ralph Delaval aside; and, to speak my sentiments freely, I believe this to be as much the effect of party-spirit, as the laying aside Admiral Russel was the year before. As for Sir Cloudesley Shovel, he happened to be in favour with the party that disliked the other two admirals, and so he escaped, though he had concurred with them in every thing. I do not say this, with the smallest design of reflecting on the memory of that brave man, who, I am entirely persuaded, was not at all culpable; but only to shew the pernicious effects of party intrigues, by which all things were then governed: I wish I could say, that nothing like it has ever happened since.‡

* History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 125.

† If it had ever occurred to Bishop Burnet, that the absurd, confused, indigested orders, which himself suggests so disgusted Admiral Russel, as to hinder his doing any thing of consequence, after his glorious victory the year before, came from the very same persons who puzzled and perplexed the joint admirals, he would not have imputed disaffection to them, but have acquiesced with the house of commons in censuring their inactivity without loading the commanders.

‡ In such cases, the fairest way is to take the judgment of the sailors. If a man, who has been unfortunate, retains the love of such as he commanded; there seems to be no reason for laying him aside, because such an officer, when employed again, will be more vigilant than any other, in order to retrieve his credit; and the French have, generally speaking, pursued this maxim with equal honour and advantage. It is always right to punish bad conduct in an officer, even where he has success; but to punish a good officer merely for want of

Sir Ralph Delaval lived thenceforward privately, as a country gentleman, upon his own estate, which was very considerable, and troubled not himself with public affairs. He died in the beginning of the month of January, 1707, and on the 23d of the same month was buried with great solemnity in Westminster abbey. The violence of party-prejudice being then abated, he went to the grave with the reputation of a great and gallant officer, and of a generous, hospitable man; which, according to the best accounts I have been able to procure, he certainly deserved; though he was so unfortunate as to pass nine years of his life in an obscure retirement, and that too, in a season when his service might have been most useful to his country. *

MEMOIRS OF SIR CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL, KNIGHT,
REAR-ADMIRAL OF ENGLAND, &c.

It is certainly a just observation, that virtue alone creates nobility. He who enjoys a title by birth, derives it from the virtue of his ancestors; and he who raises himself into high rank, which is a sort of self-creation, supplies the want of ancestors by personal merit. Under all free governments, the latter ought to be encouraged, as well as the former respected; for, as every such government must flourish or decline, according to that portion of public spirit, which is found among its subjects; so the only means by which this spirit can be either excited or maintained, is the proper distribution of rewards, and the strict punishment of criminals. Where virtue is neg-

success, is barbarous and base; contrary to the maxims of discipline and good policy.

* The Complete History of Europe, for the year 1707, p. 447. Le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, p. 121. Mercure Historique et Politique, tom. xlii. p. 180.

lected, and vice unpunished, corruption is at the height, and the dissolution of that state near at hand.

We were not in any such situation, at the time this brave man was born, which was about the year 1650. His parents were but in middling circumstances; and as they had some expectations from a relation, whose name was Cloudesley, they thought fit to bestow that name upon their son, as a probable means of recommending him to this relation's notice. But, whether they were disappointed in their views, or, from what other accident it arose, I am not able to say; but so it was, that young Cloudesley Shovel was put out apprentice to a mean trade, I think to that of a shoemaker, to which he applied himself for some years; but being of an aspiring disposition, and finding no appearance of raising his fortune in that way, he betook himself to the sea, under the protection of Sir John Narborough, with whom, I speak it to his honour, he went as a cabin-boy; but applying himself very assiduously to navigation, and having naturally a genius for that art, he soon became an able seaman; and as those were stirring times, in which merit always thrives, he quickly arrived at preferment. This he, in a great measure, owed to the favour of that famous person, who, having been cabin-boy to Sir Christopher Myngs, was a man who raised himself to the highest honours of his profession, by mere dint of capacity, and therefore proved a generous patron of all who discovered any extraordinary degree of worth, and this was what recommended Mr. Shovel to his notice. * *

After the close of the second Dutch war, our merchants, in the Mediterranean, found themselves very much distressed by the piratical state of Tripoli; which, notwithstanding several treaties of peace that had been concluded with them, began to commit fresh depredations, almost as

* Complete History of Europe, for the year 1707, p. 499.

early as the Dutch war broke out. As soon, therefore, as the king found himself at leisure, he ordered a strong squadron into those parts, to repress the insolence of these corsairs, under the command of Sir John Narborough, who arrived before Tripoli, in the spring of the year 1674, where he found all things in very good order for his reception. The appearance of the enemy's strength, joined to the nature of his instructions, which directed him to try negotiation rather than force, determined him to send a person in whom he could confide, to the dey of Tripoli, to propose terms of accommodation, and those too very moderate in their nature ; for he desired only satisfaction for what was past, and security for the time to come. The admiral entrusted Mr. Shovel with this message, who accordingly went on shore, and delivered it with great spirit. But the dey, despising his youth, treated him with much disrespect, and sent him back with an indefinite answer. *

Mr. Shovel, on his return to the admiral, acquainted him with some remarks he had made on shore : Sir John sent him back again with another message, and well furnished with proper rules for conducting his enquiries and observations. The dey's behaviour was worse the second time ; but Mr. Shovel, though naturally warm, bore it with wonderful patience, and made use of it as an excuse for staying some time longer on shore. When he returned, he assured the admiral, that it was very practicable to burn the ships in the harbour, notwithstanding their lines and forts ; accordingly, in the night of the 4th of March, Lieutenant Shovel, with all the boats in the fleet, filled

* The reader has seen the whole of this affair in the former volume, which plainly shews, of how great importance it is to excite and encourage an observing spirit, and an intrepid valour in young officers, Sir John Narborough frankly ascribing this important service to the courage, and, which is more, to the conduct of his boy Shovel, as he always called him.

with combustible matter, went boldly into the harbour, and as I have already related in another place, * destroyed the enemy's ships, with a degree of success scarcely to be conceived; of which Sir John Narborough gave so honourable an account in all his letters, that the next year Mr. Shovel had the command given him of the Sapphire, a fifth-rate, from which he was not long after removed into the James galley, a fourth-rate, in which he continued to the death of King Charles II. who first raised, and had always a great kindness for him. †

There were reasons which engaged King James to employ Captain Shovel; though he was a man far enough from being in his favour; accordingly he was preferred to the command of the Dover, a fourth-rate, in which situation he was, when the Revolution took place. ‡ This was very fortunate for Captain Shovel, as well as very agreeable to his way of thinking; which, together with his activity in the service, for he was in every engagement almost that happened during that reign, made him very conspicuous, and made his rise in the navy as quick as he could wish. He was in the first battle, I mean that of Bantry Bay, in the Edgar, a third-rate, and gave such signal marks of his courage and conduct, that when King William came down to Portsmouth, he was pleased, on the recommendation of Admiral Herbert, who, for that action, was raised to the dignity of earl of Torrington,

* See vol. ii. p. 424.

† Kennet's Complete History of England, vol. iii. p. 355. Burchet's Naval History, p. 404. Columna Roshata, p. 251, and Sir John Narborough's Letter to Sir Paul Rycant. Memoirs of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, p. 12. This hardy enterprize was not only highly honourable to the reputation of the English arms at sea, but of infinite consequence to our commerce; which remained from this time forward safe from the insults of these barbarous and thievish enemies, who were now convinced, that forts and lines were no securities against the courage of English seamen.

‡ Pepy's Memoirs of the Royal Navy of England, p. 164.

to confer upon him and Captain Ashby, of the *Defiance*, the honour of knighthood. *

This was soon followed by further services, as they were by additional rewards ; for Sir Cloudesley, after cruising in the Soundings, and on the coast of Ireland, during the winter of the year 1690, and the ensuing spring, was, in the month of June, employed in convoying King William and his army into Ireland ; who was so highly satisfied with his diligence and dexterity, for without question, in matters of this nature, he was one of the ablest commanders ever put to sea, that he was graciously pleased, not only to appoint him rear-admiral of the blue, but did him also the honour, with his own hands, to deliver him his commission. †

After performing this service, it was intended he should have joined the grand fleet ; but on the 10th of July, King William receiving information, that the enemy intended to send upwards of twenty small frigates, the biggest not above thirty-six guns, into St. George's Channel, to burn the transport ships, he was ordered to cruize off Scilly, or in such a station as he should judge most proper for preventing that design ; and to send frigates to ply eastward and westward, to gain intelligence of the body of the French fleet, so that he might be the better able to provide for his own safety. And they, upon meeting with Vice-admiral Killegrew, in his return from the Straits, were to give him notice of all circumstances, so that he might likewise take care not to be intercepted. ‡

n *Impartial Account of some Remarkable Passages in the Life of Arthur, Earl of Torrington*, p. 20. *Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts*, vol. ii. p. 11. *Memoirs of Sir Cloudesley Shovel*, p. 20.

† *Burchet's Memoirs*, p. 58. *Kennet's Complete History of England*, vol. iii. p. 598. *Memoirs of Sir Cloudesley Shovel*, p. 27.

‡ These expeditions, which give little pleasure to either author or reader, are most perilous to sea officers. If they perform all they are commanded, which is always difficult, not always possible, there is no praise to be hoped. But, if they fail, a storm of clamour arises, and

He cruized up and down in the aforesaid station, till the 21st of July, without meeting any thing remarkable ; and then the *Dover* and *Experiment* joined him from the coast of Ireland, with a ketch that came out of Kingsale, on board of which was Colonel Hacket, Captain John Hamilton, Archibald Cockburn, Esq. Anthony Thompson, Esq. Captain Thomas Power, Mr. William Sutton, and six servants, who were following King James to France, in order to their accompanying him in his intended expedition to England. They gave Sir Cloudesley an account, that King James took shipping at Duncannon, and sailed to Kingsale ; but after staying there a little above two hours, he proceeded to France, with two Spanish frigates, that had lain there for that purpose a considerable time ; and that he carried with him the Lord Powis, Sir Roger Strickland, and Captain Richard Trevanion. *

Sir Cloudesley Shovel sailed afterwards to Kingsale, and, as I have shewn in the former volume, did all that could reasonably be expected from him, in regard to what was prescribed by his orders, and yet without much success. But an opportunity quickly offered of demonstrating his zeal and affection for the service. General Kirke, with a handful of troops, was before the strong town of Waterford, which he could not take, on account of the numerous garrison in Duncannon castle, commanded by General Bourke, who professed his resolution to defend both town and fort, as long as one stone remained upon another ; Sir Cloudesley rightly guessed, that a good part of this bravery proceeded from certain intelligence, that Mr. Kirke had not a single piece of cannon ; upon which he sent him word, that he was ready to assist him from his squadron, not only with guns, but

as men of courage are seldom men of art, it is odds they suffer shipwreck on shore.

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 431. The Complete History of Europe, for 1707, p. 502. Memoirs of Sir Cloudesley Shovel.

with boats and men ; which, on the general's accepting this proposition, he accordingly did ; and then General Bourke was so prudent as to surrender the place, before there was so much as one stone beat from another. *

The remainder of the year 1690 was spent by Sir Cloudesley for the most part in cruizing, till he was ordered to make part of Sir George Rooke's squadron, which escorted the king to Holland, in the month of January following. † On the 13th of April his majesty landed in England, when having given directions for hastening out the fleet, and despatched other affairs of great importance, that prince embarked again for Holland, on the 1st of May, and on the 18th of October following returned to England, in the *Mary yacht*, being then also attended by a squadron of men-of-war, under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel. ‡

It was his felicity, that, as his services were well intended, so, generally speaking, they were well received ; and, if Sir Cloudesley Shovel at any time missed of success, nobody ever pretended to fix imputations upon his conduct. His courage, and his sincerity, were alike unquestionable ; and though this was not the most credulous age, yet there never was heard of such an infidel, as one who did not believe Shovel had both.

On this account, most people were very well satisfied, when the king, in the spring of the year 1692, and just before he set out for Holland, declared him rear-admiral of the red ; and, at the same time, commander of the squadron that was to convoy him thither. § On his return

* Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 57. Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. History of the Wars in Ireland, p. 138, 139.

† Burchet's Memoirs, p. 63. Kennet's History of England, vol. iii. p. 612. The Present State of Europe, for the month of January, 1691, p. 34.

‡ Kennet's History of England, vol. iii. p. 613.

§ The Complete History of Europe, for 1707, p. 504.

from thence, he joined Admiral Russel with the grand fleet, and had a great share in the danger, and as great a share in the glory of the famous victory at La Hogue. For the French, after an engagement for some hours, breaking their line, and Tourville being discovered to tow away northward, when the weather cleared up, the English admiral gave the signal for chasing, and sent notice to all the ships, that the enemy was retiring. At the same time, several broadsides were heard to the westward, and, though the ships that fired could not be seen, it was concluded they were the blue squadron, that by a shift of wind had weathered the French; it proved, however, to be the brave Sir Cloudesley Shovel, rear-admiral of the red, who had, with wonderful pains and diligence, weathered their admiral's own squadron, and got between them and their admiral of the blue; * but, after he had fired upon the French for some time, Tourville, as well as the admiral of that squadron, came to an anchor with some of the ships of their division, but could not discover one another by reason of the thickness of the weather. †

When it was thought requisite, as we have had occasion more than once to observe, that the fleet should be put under the joint admirals in the succeeding year, he was one; and perhaps, if there had been nothing more than this joint commission, we might well enough account from thence for the misfortune that happened in our affairs at

* Kennet. *Columna Rustata*, p. 260. *Memoirs of Sir Cloudesley Shovel*, p. 51.

† It may not be amiss to mention here the care taken by Queen Mary to encourage those who had behaved so well in this engagement; for she was no sooner informed of the victory, than she immediately sent down thirty thousand pounds to be distributed among the soldiers and seamen, and gold medals for all the officers. Colonel Hastings, who was killed in the fight, was buried on the 7th of June, in great state, the queen sending her coaches, and the nobility and gentry two hundred more; the whole being escorted by eight companies of guards.

sea, during the year 1693. * This the intelligent reader will the more easily credit, when he is put in mind, that these joint admirals were of different parties; that is to say, Killegrew and Delaval were declared Tories, and Shovel a determined Whig. Yet, as they were all good seamen, and very probably all meant their country well, though they did not agree in the manner of serving it, it is most likely, that, upon mature consideration of the posture things were then in, the orders they had received from court, and the condition of the fleet, which was not either half-manned or half-victualled, the admirals might agree, that a cautious execution of the instructions they had received was a method as safe for the nation, and more so for themselves, than any other they could take. There was, therefore, no great reason for that piece of Dutch wit played off upon this occasion in a picture, wherein the taking of the Smyrna fleet was represented at a distance, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel on board his own ship, with his hands tied behind him, one end of the cord being held by each of his colleagues; to insinuate, that he would have prevented this misfortune, if the Admirals Killegrew and Delaval had not hindered him. †

But, when the affair came to be very strictly enquired into in parliament, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, at the bar of the house, defended his colleagues as well as himself, and gave so clear and plain an account of the matter, that it satisfied all people, who were capable of being satisfied, of the innocence of the commanders, I mean in point of treachery, which had been asserted by a vote of the house of commons; for which, if there was any foundation, it must have lain either among the inferiour people at the admiralty, or those in the secretary of state's office, who

* London Gazette, No. 2839. The Complete History of Europe, for 1707, p. 505. Memoirs of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, p. 58.

† The Complete History of Europe, for 1707, p. 507.

were bribed to give intelligence to the French. * But possibly even this was but suspicion.

The character of Sir Cloudesley Shovel remaining absolutely unimpeached, we find him again at sea, in the year 1694, in the channel, and on the French coast, where he had the honour to command, as vice-admiral of the red, under Lord Berkley, admiral of the blue, in the famous expedition to Camaret-bay; of which I have already given so large an account, that I think it altogether needless to repeat it here, and therefore shall only say, that Sir Cloudesley distinguished himself by his speedy and dextrous embarkation of the land forces, when they sailed upon that unfortunate expedition, as also when, on their return to England, it was thought necessary to send the fleet again upon the coast of France, to bombard Dieppe and other places. †

Towards the end of the season the command devolved upon Sir Cloudesley Shovel, by Lord Berkley's coming to London; and then he received his majesty's express commands to undertake the bombardment of Dunkirk, which he attempted, as I have shewn in the naval history of that year, to no purpose, through the fault of the engineer, who had promised more than either he, or, as was then believed, any other man could perform. Sir Cloudesley Shovel, however, took care to demonstrate from his conduct, that there was no fault lay in him; for he went with a boat within the enemy's works, and so became an eye-witness of the impossibility of doing what his orders directed to be done; and therefore, on his coming home, he was perfectly well received, and continued to be employed as a man who would command success where it was possible, and omit nothing in his power where it was

* Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 115, 116. Kennet, and all our historians. Chandler's Debates, vol. ii. p. 418, 422.

† *Mercurius Historique et Politique*, tom. xvii. p. 219, where there are very pertinent remarks on these expeditions.

not. He had his share in the remaining part of the war, and; after the peace of Ryswick, was always consulted by his majesty, whenever maritime affairs were under consideration. *

In the beginning of the reign of Queen Anne he was not much in favour, and therefore I do not find him employed, though he was then admiral of the white, in any affair of importance, till he was sent to Vigo, after the taking that place by Sir George Rooke, to bring home the spoils of the Spanish and French fleet. This was in the latter end of the year 1702, and he performed all that was expected from him, with that zeal and expedition which he had formerly shewed upon every occasion: for, arriving at Vigo on the 16th of October, he got things into such forwardness, that he carried off whatever could possibly be brought home, burnt the rest, and, notwithstanding the stormy season of the year, the foulness of his ships, and his being embarrassed with prizes, arrived safely in the Downs on the 7th of November; which was considered as so remarkable a service by the court, that it was immediately resolved to employ him in affairs of the greatest consequence for the future. †

Accordingly he commanded the grand fleet up the Straits in the year 1703, where he did every thing it was possible for an admiral to do, whose instructions were very extensive, and who yet wanted an adequate force to accomplish a great part of those instructions. It is in such conjunctures as these that the skill and capacity of an admiral chiefly appear; and in this expedition Sir Cloudesley gave as convincing proofs of his courage and conduct as any admiral could do; for he protected our

* Burchet's Naval History, book iv. ch. 13. The second volume of this history under the year 1694. The complete History of Europe 1707, p. 508. Memoirs of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, p. 60.

† Burchet's Naval History, p. 628. Columna Rostrata, p. 275. Memoirs of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, p. 83, 84. London Gazette, No. 3861, 3862.

trade from all attempts of the French; he did what was to be done for the relief of the Protestants then in arms in the Cevennes; he countenanced such of the Italian powers as were inclined to favour the cause of the allies; and he struck such a terror into the friends of the French, that they durst not perform what they had promised to undertake for that court. *

All this he did with a fleet very indifferently manned, and still worse victualled; so that, notwithstanding the management of our affairs at sea was severely censured that year in the house of commons, yet all parties agreed, that Sir Cloudesley Shovel had done his duty in every respect, and very well deserved the high trust and confidence that had been reposed in him. †

* Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 313. The Complete History of Europe for 1703, p. 319. London Gazette, No. 3928.

† Bishop Burnet gives us but a melancholy account of this expedition, and yet he very honestly justifies the admiral's conduct. This prelate's account of the matter is very curious, and very well worth the reader's notice. I have not touched it in the latter part of last volume, and therefore I think it will not be amiss to insert it here, as a proof that I do not over-rate the merit of the great men whose actions I record: "It was resolved to send a strong fleet into the Mediterranean; it was near the end of June before they were ready to sail; and they had orders to come out of the Straits by the end of September. Every thing was so ill laid in this expedition, as if it had been intended, that nothing should be done by it, besides the convoying our merchant ships, which did not require the fourth part of such a force. Shovel was sent to command; when he saw his instructions, he represented to the ministry, that nothing could be expected from this voyage; he was ordered to go, and he obeyed his orders. He got to Leghorn by the beginning of September. His arrival seemed to be of great consequence, and the allies began to take courage from it; but they were soon disappointed of their hopes, when they understood that, by his orders, he could only stay a few days there. Nor was it easy to imagine what the design of so great an expedition could be, or why so much money was thrown away on such a project, which made us despised by our enemies, while it provoked our friends, who might justly think they could not depend upon such an ally, who

In the year 1704, Sir George Rooke commanded the grand fleet in the Mediterranean, to reinforce which Sir Cloudesley Shovel was sent with a powerful squadron; and he took such care not only to execute his orders, but to distinguish in what manner they ought to be executed that, by joining the fleet in the midst of the month of June, he was very instrumental in the singular success that followed, as by that very action he effectually disappointed all the French schemes, though that court had boasted, they should be able to restore their maritime power, and give law to the confederates at sea that summer, *

He took his part in the glorious action off Malaga, in which he behaved with the utmost bravery, as Bishop Burnet very justly observes; and yet he had the good luck to escape extremely well in that action, though, as he said himself in his letter, he never took more pains to be well beaten in his life; but he was very far from taking to himself, what some have since endeavoured to confer upon him, the glory of beating the French fleet, while Sir George Rooke only looked on, or fought at a distance. This was not at all in Sir Cloudesley's nature; he would no more be guilty of an act of injustice of this sort, than he would have been patient in bearing it. He knew very well his own merit and his admiral's, and he did justice to both in the letter he wrote on that occasion, and of which the reader may find an extract in the latter part of last volume.

This battle was fought on the 13th of August, 1704; Sir Cloudesley Shovel and Sir John Leake led the van; Sir Cloudesley's division consisted of nine ships, the *Barfleur*, *Eagle*, *Orford*, *Assurance*, *Warspight*, *Swiftsure*,

" managed so great a force with so poor a conduct, as neither to hurt their enemies, nor protect their friends by it."

* Lamberti, tom. iii. p. 324. Quincy, *Histoire Militaire*, tom. iv. p. 426. *Memoires D'Espagne*, tom. i. p. 275—281.

Nottingham, Tilbury, and the Lenox, in which they had only one officer killed, *viz.* the first lieutenant of the Lenox, and seven wounded, one hundred and five private men killed, and three hundred and three wounded.* After this victory the French never durst think of fighting our fleets; and, upon Sir Cloudesley Shovel's return, he was presented to the queen by Prince George, as lord high-admiral of England, met with a very gracious reception, and was the next year employed as † commander-in-chief, being appointed rear-admiral of the fleet of England on the 6th of January following. ‡

Sir Cloudesley had no concern in the arts made use of to lessen the reputation of Sir George Rooke, in order to pave the way for laying him aside; § but after this was done, and it became necessary to send both a fleet and army to Spain, Sir Cloudesley thought it reasonable to accept the command of the fleet, jointly with the earl of Peterborough and Monmouth, and accordingly arrived at Lisbon with the fleet, which consisted of twenty-nine line-

* Burnet's History of his own Time, vol. ii. p. 390. Columna Rostrata, p. 278. London Gazette, No. 4054.

† I shall be obliged to touch some particulars in this engagement, when I come to the Memoirs of Sir George Rooke; but it may not be amiss to observe here incidentally, that, at the beginning of the battle, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with the van of the English fleet, narrowly missed being surrounded by the French, but that Sir George Rooke perceiving their design, bore down immediately to his assistance; which seasonable succour Sir Cloudesley Shovel returned in the latter part of the engagement, when, several ships of the admiral's division being forced out of the line for want of ammunition, Sir Cloudesley very gallantly came in to his aid, and drew several of the enemy's ships from our centre, which, after they had felt the force of some of Sir Cloudesley Shovel's division, did not think it safe to advance along his; but, being clean and better sailers, they set their sprit-sails, and with their boats a-head, towed from him, without giving him the opportunity of exchanging with them so much as a single broadside.

‡ London Gazette, No. 4086.

§ The Complete History of Europe for 1705, p. 5. Memoirs of Sir Cloudesley Shovel.

of-battle ships, in the month of June, 1705; and, toward the latter end of the same month, sailed from thence to Catalonia, arriving before the city of Barcelona on the 12th of August,* when the siege of the place was undertaken, though the English army was very little, if at all, superiour to the garrison within the town.

There certainly never was an admiral in a more untoward situation than that in which Sir Cloudesley Shovel found himself here. The scheme itself appeared very impracticable; the land-officers divided in their opinions; the prince of Hesse d'Armstadt, upon whom King Charles principally depended, was not on speaking terms with the earl of Peterborough; all things necessary for the siege were in a manner wanting, and all hopes of supply depended on Admiral Shovel, who on this occasion gave the most signal proofs not only of his vigilance, dexterity, and courage, but of his constancy, patience, and zeal for the public service.†

He furnished guns for the batteries, and men to serve them; he landed, for the use of the army, almost all the military stores of the fleet; he not only gave prudent advice himself in all councils of war, but he moderated the heats and resentments of others; and, in short, was so useful, so ready, and so determined in the service, and took such care that every thing he promised should be fully and punctually performed, that his presence and councils in a manner forced the land-officers to continue the siege, till the place was taken, to the surprize of all the world, and, perhaps, most of all to the surprise of

* Sir Cloudesley sailed from Spithead to St. Helen's on the 22d of May; the earl of Peterborough went on board the next day, and the 24th the fleet sailed to the westward. *London Gazette*, No. 4126.

† Burehet's *Naval History*, book v. ch. 18. *Burnet's History of his own Times*, vol. ii. p. 419. Dr. *Friend's account of the earl of Peterborough's conduct in Spain*, p. 34. *An Impartial Inquiry into the Management of the War in Spain*, p. 17. *Boyer's Life of Queen Anne*.

those by whom it was taken ; for, if we may guess at their sentiments by what they declared under their hands in several councils of war, they scarcely believed it practicable to reduce so strong a place with so small a force, and that so ill provided.*

How great a sense the queen had of this important service, and how much she was persuaded it would contribute to the advantage of the common cause, the reputation of her arms abroad, and the satisfaction of her subjects at home, may appear from her going expressly to parliament, upon this occasion, upon the 27th of November, 1705, where, being seated on the throne, she sent for the house of commons on purpose to communicate to them the news of this important success, which she did in the following speech, that deserves, for its singularity, as well as for its relation to the subject in hand, a place in this history :

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ Having newly received letters from the king of Spain
 “ and the earl of Peterborough, which contain a very
 “ particular account of our great and happy successes in
 “ Catalonia, and shewing at the same time the reasonableness of their being immediately supported, I look upon
 “ this to be a matter of such consequence in itself, and so
 “ agreeable to you, that I have ordered a copy of the
 “ king of Spain’s letter to myself, and a letter from the
 “ junto of the military army of Catalonia, and another
 “ letter from the city of Vich, as also an extract of the
 “ earl of Peterborough’s letter to me, to be communicated to both houses of parliament.

“ I recommend the consideration of them to you, gentlemen of the house of commons, very particularly, as

* Oldmixon’s History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 361. The Complete History of Europe for 1705, p. 384. London Gazette, No. 4164, 4169, 4177, 4178. Memoirs of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, p. 106.

“ the speediest way to restore the monarchy of Spain to
“ the house of Austria; and therefore I assure myself,
“ you will enable me to prosecute the advantages we
“ have gained, in the most effectual manner, and to
“ improve the opportunity, which God Almighty is
“ pleased to afford us, of putting a prosperous end to the
“ present war.

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ I must not lose this occasion of desiring you to give
“ as much dispatch to the matters before you as the nature
“ of them allow, that so, in our preparation for next year,
“ you may be early, which cannot fail of being a great
“ advantage to us.” *

The next year Sir Cloudesley again commanded the fleet; but it sailed very late,† so as not to reach the river of Lisbon till the month of November; and, even when it arrived there, the disputes which arose among the lords of King Charles’s council and his generals, with the delays of the Portuguese, who were far from being hearty in his cause, disappointed all the great designs of the maritime powers, and the effects that might have been reasonably expected from the powerful reinforcement of troops which were embarked on board the grand fleet. In this uneasy situation Sir Cloudesley Shovel did all that could be expected from a wise and vigilant commander; for he not only closely attended to the proper duties of his own charge, but left no method untried to prevail upon the generals and favourites of King Charles to come to such an agreement, as might secure the advantages already obtained, and effectually fix their master, who was then at Madrid, upon the throne of Spain.

* London Gazette, No. 4179.

† The queen’s fleet, under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with the land-forces on board, and the earl of Rivers as general in chief, sailed from Torbay the 1st of October. London Gazette, No. 4268.

But, though the care and concern of the admiral had very little effect on this side, yet his representations in Portugal met with greater regard. It seems that one of the young princes of the royal family, who was of a very wild temper, had committed some odd insults on the seamen as they came a-shore from the fleet, and the forts, at the entrance of the river, had fired upon some of our men-of-war; upon which Sir Cloudesley made his representations to the ministry; and, having received a very dissatisfactory answer, he immediately demanded a conference with a person of great distinction, who was then at the head of their councils, and told him plainly, that the seamen, so long as he bore the English flag, should maintain the strictest discipline while in the harbour of Portugal, and therefore he expected it should receive those marks of friendship and respect, which were due to so great a princess as the queen his sovereign; or, in case of any failure, he should think himself obliged to do his seamen, and the honour of his country, right, and not suffer the English flag to be insulted, while he had the honour to wear it. This Sir Cloudesley expressed in such a manner, and seconded his words with so brisk a resentment, when the first-mentioned affront was next repeated, that the crown of Portugal thought fit to issue out such orders as he desired, and things wore another face in that part of the world ever afterwards; which was entirely owing to the courage and conduct of Sir Cloudesley, who knew very well how to distinguish between the complaisance due to an ally, and that complying forbearance which is unworthy of an English admiral.*

The beginning of the year 1707, wore but an indifferent aspect for Sir Cloudesley. He had disposed all things in such a manner, as that he might be able to succour Alicant;

* They had behaved in the same way to Sir John Leake in February, 1706. See Burchet's *Naval History*, p. 690, 729.

and very probably had succeeded therein, if not prevented, when the troops were on the point of embarking, by an order from England. This order was obtained by the pressing instances of the court of Portugal, which represented here, that the forces might be more effectually employed in conjunction with their army. Orders were sent to this purpose, and a memorial was drawn up, containing the terms upon which her Britannic majesty would consent to the propositions made by the Portuguese minister, in the name, and on the behalf of his master. But, notwithstanding this application, the Portuguese, being either unwilling or unable to comply with those demands, it was resolved in a council of war to resume the former project, and to land them at Alicant; for which orders soon after arrived from England. *

According to this resolution, the confederate fleet sailed on the 7th of January, with the land-forces from Lisbon to Alicant, where they arrived on the 28th of the same month, and were actually landed. But, through the delays the expedition met with, an account of which we have formerly given, the troops, which at their sailing from England were little if any thing short of ten thousand men, were now found to be scarcely seven thousand; and Sir Cloudesley finding that his presence would be of little use there, and that the fleet stood in need of repairs, left Alicant on the 17th of February, and returned to Lisbon, where he arrived the 11th of March following. There he received orders to prepare for the expedition against Toulon; of which we have already said much; and there-

* These disputes, and the delays they occasioned, ruined our affairs, and made this, which was the most expensive of all our wars, the most ineffectual. The Spanish malecontents had their particular views, so had the Portuguese, so had the Germans likewise; Charles III. as we called him, indeed had none, but followed the humour of his favourite for the time being.

fore shall be the more concise in what we are obliged to add further upon that subject here. *

The instructions which Sir Cloudesley Shovel received, in relation to this important affair, which, if it had succeeded, must have put an end to the war, by obliging the French king to abandon the support of his grandson in Spain, were sent him to Lisbon; and, in obedience to them, the admiral made such despatch, that on the 10th of May he sailed for Alicant; where, having joined Sir George Byng, he proceeded to the coast of Italy, and in the latter end of the month of June, came to an anchor between Nice and Antibes; where he waited the arrival of the duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene, who actually came on board the 29th of that month, and were entertained by Sir Cloudesley with the utmost magnificence. †

The enemy were at that time strongly entrenched on the river Var, and had extended their works above four miles into the country. These entrenchments were defended by eight hundred horse, and six battalions of foot, and a reinforcement was daily expected, of three battalions more, under the command of Lieutenant-general Dillon, an old Irish officer, from whose courage and conduct the French had reason to expect as much as from any man in their service; and indeed if he had arrived in those lines, it is very doubtful whether the confederates could have forced them. But Sir Cloudesley having observed to the duke, that part of the French lines were so near the sea, that it was in his power to cannonade them; and that he would land a body of seamen, who should attack the highest

* Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 479. The Complete History of Europe, for 1707, p. 41. London Gazette, No. 4299, 4302, 4308, 4312.

† Burnet, vol. ii. Columna Rostrata, p. 284. The Complete History of Europe, for 1707, p. 261. London Gazette, No. 4352. Memoirs of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, p. 115.

and strongest of their entrenchments; his royal highness consented that they should be attacked immediately. *

Accordingly, on the 1st of July, Sir Cloudesley ordered four English, and one Dutch man of war, to enter the mouth of the river Var, where they began to cannonade the French lines; soon after which, six hundred English seamen landed in open boats, under the command of Sir John Norris, who was quickly followed by the admiral; and having begun the attack, the enemy were so terrified with such an unexpected salutation, that they threw down their arms, after a short dispute, and abandoned their works. †

This great effort made by the English, not only procured an easy passage, where the greatest resistance was expected, but totally disconcerted the French schemes; since the troops had scarcely quitted these entrenchments before they met, in their march, Lieutenant-general Dillon, at the head of his twelve battalions, who was so astonished, that he suffered himself to be persuaded to abandon the town of St. Paul, and to continue this retreat. On the 14th, a council of war was held on board the admiral, in which it was resolved to prosecute the march to Toulon, which the duke of Savoy promised to reach in six days. It appears from this account, that whatever there was of zeal and spirit in the conduct of this affair, proceeded from the diligence and activity of Sir Cloudesley. He proposed forcing the passage of the Var, and executed it; he induced his royal highness of Savoy to pursue his march immediately; and, as soon as

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 731, 732. Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 476. Boyer's Life of Queen Anne. London Gazette. Memoirs of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, p. 112.

† See the London Gazette, No. 4532, wherein there is an account of this expedition, by authority. Complete History of Europe, for the year 1707, and all the French writers, who agree, that if this pass had not been forced by the English, the duke of Savoy and his army could not have proceeded further.

that resolution was taken, the admiral sailed with his fleet for the islands of Hieres, leaving ten or twelve frigates to interrupt the enemy's correspondence with Italy.*

The story, therefore, that is told of Sir Cloudesley's detaining a sum of money, must be without foundation: for, before the attack, his royal highness must have been perfectly satisfied, otherwise he would not have undertaken it; and he marched as soon as Prince Eugene joined him, with the remainder of the forces, Sir Cloudesley Shovel seeing no more of him till he reached Toulon.† But, instead of six, his royal highness made it full twelve days

* Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 477, 478. The Complete History of Europe, for 1707. Oldmixon, Boyer, and all our historians. Memoirs of Sir Cloudesley Shovel.

† I have, in the latter part of last volume, given some account of the real and pretended reasons for the miscarriage of this expedition; and I there lay the greatest weight on the body of forces sent by the emperor Joseph, to conquer the kingdom of Naples; which expedition, first delayed, and then weakened, the attempt upon Toulon; but I had not at that time seen a valuable letter of her majesty Queen Anne to the emperor, upon this subject; which, as it was never published, as it was written with her own hand, and contains matter of an extraordinary nature, I thought it might not be amiss to insert it here, rather than conceal it from the reader. This letter was to felicitate the emperor on the success of his arms in Naples.

“ SIR, my Brother,

“ I rejoice with all my heart, with your imperial majesty, on the
 “ reduction of the kingdom of Naples to the obedience of the Catholic
 “ King, of which he has given me an account by his letter of the 30th
 “ of August last; and I hope that by a joint pursuit, for the time to
 “ come, of whatever shall be advantageous to the common cause, this
 “ success will be followed by another, equally glorious and important
 “ to the house of Austria, in putting my brother, the Catholic king,
 “ in possession of the Spanish monarchy, by the powerful succours
 “ that your imperial majesty will, after this happy event, be able to
 “ furnish him; to whom I wish all kinds of prosperity, and to your
 “ imperial majesty a continual series of good fortune. This will give
 “ extreme pleasure, as being,

“ Your imperial majesty's

“ Most affectionate sister,

Wansington, Sept. 29, 1707

“ ANNE R.”

before he attacked, in any manner, the place; and then never pretended to lay any blame upon Sir Cloudesley, but threw it on Prince Eugene, who commanded the emperor's forces, and who had orders not to expose them. It is true, that when Sir Cloudesley went first to compliment the duke upon his safe arrival, and to receive his commands about landing artillery and ammunition, his royal highness told him, he was glad to see him at last, for the maritime powers had made him wait a long while; to which, when Sir Cloudesley answered, that he had not waited a moment since it was in his power, to wait upon his royal highness; he replied, smiling, "I did not say you, but the maritime powers had made me wait; for this expedition I concerted so long ago as 1693; and fourteen years is a long time to wait, Sir Cloudesley." *

The admiral ordered immediately one hundred pieces of cannon to be landed from the fleet, for the service of the batteries, with two hundred rounds of powder and shot, and a considerable number of seamen to serve as gunners; neither was he wanting, in any thing that was desired from him, during the whole affair, but rather exceeded what the duke and Prince Eugene could reasonably expect, as well with regard to his personal attendance as to the service of the fleet. Besides, there was not any misfortune on his side; but it fell out altogether among the land-troops, who were beaten from their posts with very great loss on the 15th of August, N. S. On the 16th, the fleet began to cannonade the town, and to throw bombs in the night, which was continued till such time as the siege was raised, and which obliged the French to sink all their capital ships, a distress that more than counterbalanced the whole expense of this service, great as it was. †

* *Mercure Historique*, 1707, vol. ii. p. 331.

† *Burohet's Naval History*, p. 732. *Boyer's Life of Queen Anne*, p. 303. *Memoirs of Sir Cloudesley Shovel*.

As the duke of Savoy never would have undertaken this affair without the assistance of the fleet, commanded by Sir Cloudesley; as he did nothing, when before Toulon, but by the assistance of the fleet; from which he had all his military stores; so he could not possibly have made a safe retreat, if it had not been covered by the confederate fleet, which attended him again to the time of his repassing the Var. There some new disputes happened, in which Sir Cloudesley had little or no concern. Her Britannic majesty's minister laboured to persuade Prince Eugene to take upon him the command of all the forces in Spain, in which the duke of Savoy likewise concurred; and Sir Cloudesley offered to transport his royal highness, with a body of troops under his command; but this proposition being rejected, his excellency bore away for the Straits; and soon after, resolved to return home, which was the last act of his life.*

He left Sir Thomas Dilkes at Gibraltar, with nine ships of the line; three fifth-rates, and one of the sixth, for the security of the coasts of Italy, and then proceeded with the remainder of the fleet, consisting of ten ships of the line, five frigates, four fire-ships, a sloop, and a yacht, for England.† On the 22d of October, he came into the Soundings, and in the morning had ninety fathom water. About noon he lay by; but, at six in the evening, he made sail again, and stood away under his courses, believing, as it is presumed, that he saw the light on St. Agnes, one of the islands of Scilly. Soon after which, several ships of his fleet made the signal of distress, as he himself did; and it was with much difficulty that Sir George Byng, in the *Royal Anne*, saved himself, having one of the rocks under her main chains. Sir John Norris, and Lord

* Burnet. *Oldmixon's History of Europe*, for the year 1707, p. 302, 303. *Annals of Queen Anne*, p. 107, 108. *London Gazette*, No. 4364.

† Burchet's *Naval History*, p. 733

Dursley, also ran very great risks; and, as we have shewn elsewhere, several ships besides the admiral's perished. There were with him, on board the Association, his sons-in-law, Sir John Narborough, and James his brother, Mr. Trelawny, eldest son to the bishop of Winchester, and several other young gentlemen of quality.* There is no saying how this unhappy accident fell out, or to whose fault it was owing, though a report prevailed immediately after it happened, that a great part of the crew had got drunk for joy that they were within sight of land.

Sir Cloudesley's body was thrown a-shore the next day upon the island of Scilly, where some fishermen took him up, and, having stolen a valuable emerald ring from his finger, stripped and buried him. This ring, being shewn about, made a great noise all over the island, and coming to the ears of Mr. Paxton, who was purser of the Arundel, he found out the fellows, declared the ring to be Sir Cloudesley Shovel's, and obliged them to discover where they had buried the body;† which he took up, and carried on board his own ship, in which it was transported to Plymouth, conveyed from thence by land to London, and buried, from his house in Soho-square, in Westminster abbey, with great solemnity; where, if not an elegant, an expensive monument of white marble was afterwards erected, by the queen's direction, in order to do

* Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 435. Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 394. Columna Rostrata, p. 285, 286. Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, p. 304. Memoirs of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, p. 120. London Gazette, No. 4380.

† *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. xliii. p. 668, 669. Heath's Natural and Historical Account of the Islands of Scilly, p. 142, 144. There are various accounts of the finding Sir Cloudesley's body; some say, he was first discovered upon a hatch, with a little dog dead by him, endeavouring by that means to save himself. A soldier belonging to St. Mary's garrison, is reported to have first met with it, and to have interred it in the sand of Porthelic, which soldier Lady Shovel, as some write, rewarded with a pension for life.

honour to the memory of so great a man, and so worthy and useful a subject. *

Since the last edition of this work, a very ingenious and inquisitive writer, † who had himself paid a visit to these islands, has given us a farther account of this matter, which the reader will be pleased to see in his own words. "Before I come to describe the ancient sepulchres of these islands," says this reverend author, "give me leave to make a small excursion from the Druid pale, and, now I am so near the spot, to carry you down to the grave of Sir Cloudesley Shovel. In a cave called Porthelic, between the Tolmens, which I have been describing to you, the body of this great sea-captain, after his ship-wreck in the year 1707, was found naked, and not to be distinguished from the most ordinary sailor under his command; and here he was buried, a bank of sand offering itself very opportunely for that purpose. The nature of the place, it must be allowed, would make it doubly inhuman not to have buried him, whoever he was, and is, therefore, the first argument Archytas makes use of to bespeak the same friendly office after a like misfortune.

"At tu, nauta, vagæ ne parcès malignus arenae

"Oscibus, et cupiti inhumato

"Particulam dare.—†††††

HOR. Ode xxviii. lib. 1

"Stay, traveller, and let thy gen'rous breast,

"Guess the sad tale, and bear my bones to rest.

"See where, at hand, these sports of wind and wave,

"May find the wish'd-for, tho' a sandy, grave.

* Antiquities of the Abbey of Westminster, vol. ii. p. 11. Annals of Queen Anne, vol. vi. p. 306. London Gazette, No. 4397.

† Observations on the Ancient and Present State of the Islands of Scilly, and their Importance to the Trade of Great Britain, in a letter to the Reverend Charles Lyttleton, L. L. D. Dean of Exeter, and F. R. S. By William Borlase, M. A. F. R. S. Oxford, 1759, 4to. p. 26—28.

“ His body was afterwards taken up, and conveyed to
 “ Westminster abbey, and a little pit on this sandy green
 “ still shews,

—“ *Pulveris exigui parva munera.*”—*IBIDEM.*

Sir Cloudesley Shovel, at the time of his death, was rear-admiral of England, admiral of the white, and commander-in-chief of her majesty's fleet, one of the council to Prince George of Denmark, as lord high-admiral of England, elder brother of Trinity-house, and one of the governors of Greenwich hospital; in all which stations he discharged his trust with the greatest honour and integrity; and as, in his public character, he was an accomplished sea-officer, one who had always the glory of his queen, and the good of his country at heart; so in all circumstances of private life, as an husband, parent, or master of his family, he conducted himself with such prudence, wisdom, and tenderness, that few men lived more beloved, or died more lamented. Her majesty expressed a very particular concern for his loss, and was pleased to tell Sir John Leake, when she made him rear-admiral of England, that she knew no man so fit to repair the loss of the ablest seaman in her service.*

Sir Cloudesley Shovel married the widow of his friend and patron, Sir John Narborough, who was the daughter of Captain Hill, by whom he left two daughters, co-heiresses; Elizabeth, the eldest, espoused to Robert Lord Romney, † and afterwards to John Lord Carmichael, afterwards earl of Hyndford, and who deceased at the Hague, in 1750; Anne, who became the wife of the Honourable Robert Mansel, ‡ and, upon his demise, married Robert

* Barchet's Naval History, p. 733. Burnet. The Complete History of Europe, for 1707, p. 511. Memoirs of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, p. 122. Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, p. 304, 305.

† Collins's Peerage of England, edit. 1756, vol. v. p. 337.

‡ Ibid. edit. 1741, vol. iv. p. 273.

Blackwood; Esq. of London, merchant. Lady Shovel had also three children by her first husband: John, who, while a child, was created a baronet, and James Narborough, Esq. who, as we have already mentioned, were lost in the Association, with their father-in-law; likewise a daughter, Elizabeth, married to Sir Thomas D'Aeth, of Knowlton, in the county of Kent,* baronet, and who departed this life in 1721. After surviving the unfortunate Sir Cloudesley twenty-five years, her ladyship deceased, March the 15th, 1732, at her house in Frith-street, near Soho-square, having lived to a great age. It may not be improper to add to these memoirs, his monumental inscription in Westminster abbey; since it is the only one of its kind, and stands there as a perpetual memorial of the services he rendered his country, and of the grateful sense retained by the great and glorious princess who employed him, and under whose auspicious conduct the arms of Great Britain, by sea and land, were ever victorious. Thus that inscription runs: †

“ Sir Cloudesley Shovel, Knt. rear-admiral of Great Britain; admiral and commander-in-chief of the fleet; the just reward of long and faithful services: he was deservedly beloved of his country, and esteemed, though dreaded by the enemy: who had often experienced his conduct and courage. Being shipwrecked on the rocks of Scilly, in his voyage from Toulon, the 22d of October, 1707, at night, in the fifty-seventh year of his age.

“ His fate was lamented by all; but especially the seafaring part of the nation, to whom he was a worthy example. His body was flung on the shore, and buried with others in the sands; but being soon after taken up, was placed under this monument, which his royal mistress

* English Baronetage, vol. iv. p. 184. Harris's History of Kent, p. 172.

† Antiquities of St. Peter's, Westminster, vol. ii. p. 11, 12.

“ has caused to be erected, to commemorate his steady
“ loyalty, and extraordinary virtues.”

MEMOIRS OF SIR GEORGE ROOKE, KNT. VICE-
ADMIRAL, AND LIEUTENANT OF THE ADMIRALTY
OF ENGLAND, AND LIEUTENANT OF THE FLEETS
AND SEAS OF THIS KINGDOM, ONE OF HER MAJES-
TY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL, &c.

It is a thing we may reasonably expect, and it is commonly found true, from experience, that such persons as rise into high and honourable employments, by dint of merit, and are withal of a respectable descent, as they enjoy their fortunes with less envy, so they are, generally speaking, more attached to the government and constitution of their country, than those who, by a hasty rise from a low beginning, have small concern for those establishments from which they derive no honour; and are therefore more prone to changes and revolutions, in which men of active parts must be always considerable. This truth was never more manifest, than in the conduct of the illustrious person of whom we are now to speak. A man, who, to hereditary honours, added reputation founded on personal merit, and who repaid the credit derived to him from his ancestors, by the glory reflected from his own actions. Yet so modest withal, that he coveted titles as little as wealth; and after a life spent in noble achievements, went to his grave with a moderate fortune, though he had long enjoyed such employments as enabled others to raise princely estates.

He was the son of Sir William Rooke, Knt. of an ancient and honourable family in the county of Kent, where he was born in the year 1650. His father gave him the education becoming a gentleman, in which, by the quickness of his parts, and the solidity of his judgment, he made an

extraordinary progress, insomuch that Sir William Rooke had great hopes, that he would have distinguished himself in an honourable profession, for which he was intended.* But as it frequently happens, that genius gives a bias too strong for the views even of a parent to subdue, so Sir William, after a fruitless struggle with his son George's bent to naval employment, at last gave way to his inclinations, and suffered him to make a campaign at sea.

His first station in the navy was that of volunteer, then styled a reformed, in which he distinguished himself, by his undaunted courage and indefatigable application. This quickly acquired him the post of a lieutenant, from which he rose to that of a captain before he was thirty; a thing, in those days, thought very extraordinary, when no man, let his quality be what it would, was advanced to that station, before he had given ample, as well as incontestable testimonies, of his being able to fill it with honour. These preferments he enjoyed under the reign of Charles II.; and under that of his successor, King James, he was appointed to the command of the *Deptford*, a fourth-rate man-of-war, in which post the revolution found him.†

Admiral Herbert distinguished him early, by sending him, in the year 1689, as commodore, with a squadron on the coast of Ireland. In this station, he heartily concurred with Major-general Kirke, in the famous relief of Londonderry, assisting in person in taking the island in the Lake, which opened a passage for the relief of the town.‡ Soon after, he was employed in escorting the duke of

* The Complete History of Europe, for 1709, p. 383. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 1. See the inscription on his monument. The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, by the Reverend Mr. J. Dart. London, 1726, folio, p. 75, 79.

† Pepy's Memoirs of the Royal Navy of England, p. 164. Memoirs of Sir George Rooke, MS. Annals of Queen Anne, vol. viii. p. 363.

‡ Burchet's Naval History, p. 417. Columna Rostrata, p. 255. The Complete History of Europe, for 1709, p. 384.

Schomberg's army, and landing them safe near Carrickfergus, facilitated the siege of that place, and, after it was taken, sailed with his squadron along the coast; where he first looked into the harbour of Dublin, manned all his boats, and insulted the place where King James was in person; and, in the night of the 18th of September, he formed a design of burning all the vessels in the harbour; which he would have certainly executed, if the wind had not shifted, so as to drive him out to sea. *

From thence he sailed to Cork, into which haven he likewise looked, though, in the apprehension of the people of Ireland, it was the best fortified port in the island; but Sir George soon convinced them of the contrary; for, notwithstanding all the fire from their batteries, he entered and took possession of the great island; and might have done more, but that his ships were so foul, that they could scarcely swim; and his provisions grown so short, that he was obliged to repair to the Downs, where he arrived in the middle of October, having acquired great reputation by his activity and good service.† In the beginning of the year 1690, he was, upon the recommendation of the earl of Torrington, appointed rear-admiral of the red,‡ and, in that station, served in the fight off Beachy Head, which happened on the 30th of June the same year; and, notwithstanding the misfortune of our arms; which was indisputably the greatest we ever met with at sea, Admiral Rooke was allowed to have done his duty with much resolution; and therefore the lords and others, appointed to enquire into the conduct of that affair, had orders to examine him and Sir John Ashby,

* Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 7, 11. Kennet's History of England, vol. iii. p. 580. History of the Wars in Ireland, chap. vi. Burchet's Memoirs, p. 32.

† Burchet's Naval History, p. 421.

‡ Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 41. Life of King William, p. 265.

who, in their accounts, justified their admiral, and shewed, that the misfortune happened by their being obliged to fight under vast disadvantages. *

It was believed by many, that this would have been a bar to his preferment; but it proved otherwise, and he was immediately appointed to command the squadron that convoyed the king to Holland; † and afterwards joined the grand fleet, under the command of Mr. Russel, who was then admiral of the red squadron, and commander-in-chief; but that year being spent without action, the French declining it, and the admiral being too wise a man to risk the fate of his predecessor, by any rash attempt, Rear-admiral Rooke had no opportunity of distinguishing himself further, than by exactly obeying orders, and protecting our trade; which he did very effectually. ‡

In the spring of the succeeding year, he again convoyed King William to Holland, and was then, or very soon after, promoted to the rank of vice-admiral of the blue, § in which station he served in the famous battle of La Hogue, on the 22d of May, 1692, in which he behaved with distinguished courage and conduct, as the relation published by Admiral Russel fully shews; and it was owing to his vigorous behaviour, that the last stroke was given on that important day, which threw the French entirely into confusion, and forced them to run such hazards, in order to shelter themselves from their victorious enemies.

But the next day, which was Monday the 22d of May, was for him still much more glorious; for Vice-admiral

* Burchet's Memoirs, p. 51. Kennet. An Impartial Account of some Remarkable Passages in the Life of Arthur, earl of Torrington, p. 13.

† Kennet's History of England, vol. iii. p. 612. Annals of Queen Anne, vol. viii. p. 363.

‡ Burchet. The Complete History of Europe, for 1709. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 12, 15.

§ Rover's Life of Queen Anne. n. 45.

Rooke had orders to go into La Hogue, and burn the enemy's ships as they lay. * There were thirteen large men-of-war, which had crowded as far up as possible, and the transports, tenders, and ships with ammunition, were disposed in such a manner, that it was thought impossible to burn them. Besides all this, the French camp was in sight, with all the French and Irish troops that were to have been employed in the invasion, and several batteries upon the coast, well supplied with heavy artillery. The vice-admiral, however, made the necessary preparations for obeying his orders, notwithstanding he saw the dispositions made on shore for his reception; but, when he came to make the attempt, he found it impossible to carry in the ships of his squadron; yet even this did not discourage him. He ordered his light frigates to ply in close to the shore, and, having manned out all his boats, went himself to give directions for the attack, burned that very night, six three-deck ships; and the next day, being the 24th, he burnt six more from seventy-six to sixty guns, and destroyed the thirteenth, which was a ship of fifty-six guns, together with most of the transports and ammunition vessels, and this under the fire of all those batteries I have before mentioned, in sight of the French and Irish troops; and yet, through the wise conduct of their commander, this bold enterprize cost the lives of no more than ten men. In order to have a distinct conception of the merit of this most glorious action, we need only cast our eyes on the letter written to their high mightinesses the States-general by their Admiral Allemonde, who was present, and who penned this letter on the 24th, before Vice-admiral Rooke went the very last

* Burchet's Memoirs, p. 145 Kennet, and other writers. The Present State of Europe, for the year 1692, p. 206. Columna Rostata, p. 261. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 17, 18. See Admiral Russel's letter to the earl of Nottingham in vol. iii. p. 99. as also our account of this famous action.

time into La Hogue to burn the remaining ships and transports. It is but natural to believe the admiral gave the best account in his power to his masters; and we cannot believe he meant to flatter the English officer, since it does not appear from his letter, that he so much as knew who he was; these circumstances therefore considered, his epistle may be justly looked upon as the most authentic testimony that can be offered on this subject. *

* This letter of Admiral Allemonde, was dated from on board the
June 3,
Prince, near Cape Barfleur, ——— 1692, in which letter he says:
May 24,

" I came to an anchor under this cape where I have been since yesterday in the afternoon with your high mightinesses squadron, and that of Sir John Ashby, admiral of the English blue squadron, and some other ships of their Britannic majesties. At which time being informed by the captain of a French fire-ship, who was taken prisoner, that about twelve of the ships that had fought against your high mightinesses squadron, and to which we had given chase, were got in among the rocks, I prepared to go and destroy them. But, as I was ready to put my design in execution, I found that Admiral Russel had given orders to the same purport. Presently I offered him your high mightinesses light frigates and fire-ships to assist his ships, and immediately gave all necessary orders, in case he should make use of them; but, as yet, I know not whether those frigates or fire-ships were employed or no. All that I can assure your high mightinesses is, that, the same day they took a resolution to destroy those twelve ships, they burnt six of the biggest, being ships of three decks; and this day the rest that remained, the least of which carried sixty pieces of cannon, ran the same fate, being burnt with all their ammunition and provision, together with the six other smaller vessels, which they had lightened of their guns, to try whether it were possible to save them by towing them any higher; so that this expedition has completed the irreparable ruin of the enemy's fleet. I understand this day, from a-board Admiral Russel, that orders are given out to burn the transport-vessels that are in the bay of La Hogue, to the number of about five hundred, if it may be done with safety; but I fear the execution of the enterprize will be very difficult by reason of the shallowness of the water where these vessels lye, and the resistance which may be made from the land, and therefore leave the success of the design to Providence."

It was extremely happy for Mr. Rooke, that he served a brave prince, who would not take his informations upon trust, but inquired particularly into every man's conduct before he punished or rewarded. The behaviour of the vice-admiral at La Hogue appeared to him so great, and so worthy of public notice, that, having no opportunity at that time of providing for him, he settled a pension of a thousand pounds *per annum* on him for life.* In the spring of the year his majesty thought fit to go to Portsmouth, as King Charles II. had sometimes done, to view the fleet, and, going on board Mr. Rooke's ship then in the harbour, dined with him, and conferred on him the honour of knighthood,† having a little before made a grand naval promotion, in which he was declared vice-admiral of the red;‡ and, the direction of the fleet being now put in commission, Sir George Rooke was entrusted with the command of the squadron that was to escort the Smyrna fleet, and the joint admirals received orders to accompany him as far to sea as they should think proper; after which his instructions were, to take the best care of the fleet he could, and, in case of any misfortune, to retire into some of the Spanish ports, and put himself under the protection of their cannon.§

It cannot be supposed, that Sir George Rooke had any better intelligence than the admirals or the secretaries of state; and therefore we ought to ascribe the great unwillingness he shewed to part with the grand fleet so soon, to his superiour skill in naval affairs, from which he judged, that, since the French squadron was not at Brest, it must be gone to Toulon; for which he thought there could scarcely be a better reason assigned than their hopes of

* Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 19. The Complete History of Europe, for 1709, p. 385.

† London Gazette, No. 2847.

‡ Ibid. No. 2843.

§ Burchet's Memoirs, p. 176. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 22, 23. Life of King William, p. 363, 364.

intercepting the Smyrna fleet under his convoy. However, he sailed, as his orders and duty required; and on the 15th of June, being about sixty leagues short of Cape St. Vincent, he ordered the Lark to stretch a-head of his scouts into Lagos-bay; but, next day having confirmed accounts of the danger they were in, he proposed in a council of war to keep the wind, or lye by all that night, that so a discovery of the enemy's strength might be made next morning. But in this he was over-ruled, and it was urged that the wind being fresh northerly, it gave the fleet a fair opportunity of pushing for Cadiz; pursuant to this resolution, the admiral ran along the shore all night with a pressed sail, and forced several of the enemy's ships to cut from their anchors in Lagos-bay. *

The next day, when he was with his fleet off Villa Nova, it fell calm, and, a little after day-break, ten sail of the enemy's men-of-war, and several small ships, were seen in the offing. The French no sooner discovered Sir George Rooke, than they stood away with their boats a-head, setting fire to some, and sinking others of their small craft, which yet did not hinder several of them from falling into our hands, as a fire-ship likewise did, by dropping into the fleet in the night. The crew of this ship, being carried on board the flag-ship, and examined by the admiral, told him a very plausible tale, viz. That the French squadron consisted but of fifteen ships of the line, notwithstanding there were three flags, and had with them forty-six merchant-men and store-ships, that were bound either to Toulon, or to join M. d'Estrees. † They

* The French fleet under Marshal Tourville had waited some time for the English Smyrna fleet; they had certainly very early and very exact intelligence, which is much less to be wondered at, than that this fleet of French men-of-war should remain a month on the Spanish coast, without our having any timely notice of it; and in reality this was the very point upon which the house of commons granted their vote of treachery.

† Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 115. Columna

said also, that the squadron had been becalmed off the Cape, and that, having watered in the bay, they were bound directly into the Straits, without any intention of seeing our fleet.

This at first, with the hasty retreat of their men-of-war in the morning, and their deserting and burning their small vessels, gained a perfect belief with the admiral and the rest of the officers; but afterwards it was judged, and with reason too, that this precipitate retreat was purposely to amuse us, and thereby draw the whole squadron insensibly in to the enemy. About noon the sea breeze sprung up to W. N. W. and N. W. and then the admiral bore away along shore upon the enemy, discovering their strength the more the nearer he came to them, and at last counted about eighty sail; but the number with which they plyed up to him was not above sixteen, with three flags, the admiral, vice-admiral of the blue, and rear-admiral of the white. The vice-admiral of the blue stood off to sea, in order to weather our squadron, and fall in with the merchant-ships, whilst the body of their fleet lay promiscuously to leeward one of another as far as they could be seen, especially their biggest ships.

About three in the afternoon the Dutch vice-admiral sent Sir George Rooke advice, that he was now perfectly sensible of the fraud, as discovering plainly the enemy's whole fleet; but that, in his judgment, the best course that could be taken was, by all means to avoid fighting. Sir George differed with him in that point, and had actually disposed all things for engaging the enemy; but reflecting that he should take upon himself the whole blame of this affair, if he fought contrary to the Dutch admiral's sentiments, he brought to, and then stood off with an easy sail, and at the same time despatched the

Sheerness, with orders to the small ships, that were on the coast, to endeavour to get along shore in the night, and save themselves in the Spanish ports; which advice, as it was seasonably suggested, so it was happily pursued, no less than fifty getting into the port of Cadiz only. *

I have already given so large an account of this affair,† as well from foreign writers as our own, that I think it needless to say more here, except as to the personal conduct of the vice-admiral. His whole squadron consisted of no more than twenty-three ships of war; of these, thirteen only were English, eight Dutch, and two Hamburgers. The fleet of merchant-men under his convoy was composed of four hundred sail of all nations, though the greater part of them were English ships. ‡ The fleet under M. Tourville consisted of one hundred and twenty sail, of which sixty-four were of the line, and eighteen three-deck ships; yet Sir George Rooke saved all the men-of-war; for he brought twelve of them to Kingsale, and the other got into Cadiz; and he likewise brought back with him sixty merchant-men, and, having sent the *Lark* with advice of his misfortune, he afterwards proceeded from Kingsale, with the largest ships, to join the grand fleet. §

* The first account we had of this unlucky business was by a letter from Captain Littleton, commander of the *Factor* of Smyrna, which, I take it, was an hired man-of-war, that is, a merchant-man turned into a man-of-war to strengthen the convoy. His letter gave the merchants some consolation, because he not only assured them, that his own, and between forty and fifty more ships, were safe at Cadiz, but that the admiral had escaped, and had carried off a great part of the fleet with him, notwithstanding the vast superiority of the enemy.

† See vol. iii. of this work, p. 121.

‡ Kennet's *Complete History of England*, vol. iii. p. 657. The Present State of Europe for the month of July, 1693. Life of Sir George Rooke.

§ Burnet's *History of his own Times*, vol. ii. p. 116. Oldmixon. The *Complete History of Europe* for 1709, p. 387, 388.

One thing, indeed, is very remarkable with respect of his singular transaction, *viz.* That, while in France the people in general charged their admirals with not making the most of their advantage, and the admirals themselves charged each other with want of conduct, and neglect of duty, there was not so much as a single reflection made upon Sir George Rooke's behaviour; but, on the contrary, he was said in the Dutch gazettes to have gained more reputation by his escape, than accrued to the French by their conquest. On his return home, the merchants gave him their thanks; the king promoted him from being vice-admiral of the blue to the rank of vice-admiral of the red, and soon after, as a farther mark of his favour and confidence, made him one of the lords-commissioners of the admiralty; * and, before the close of the year 1694, promoted him again from vice-admiral of the red to admiral of the blue. †

In the month of May, 1695, Admiral Rooke commanded the squadron which convoyed the king to Holland; ‡ and in the autumn of the same year, being then admiral of the

* Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 42. Life of King William, p. 375.

† We must not imagine, however, that Sir George escaped all trouble in this affair; on the contrary, he was examined at the bar of the house of commons, and that very strictly, though he was so very ill that he could scarcely stand upon his feet; and, therefore, was at last allowed a chair. He said, that when he parted from the grand fleet, he had a very brisk gale of wind, which drove him directly upon the enemy, and retarded the advice-boats that were sent after him, with intelligence and orders to return. He said further, that if his opinion had not been over-ruled, he might very probably have passed the enemy in the night, and then a few only of the heaviest sailers could have fallen into their hands. Yet, he added, that he did not suspect he was over-ruled by the majority of votes in the council of war, from any bad design, or want of zeal in the commanders; but from their not giving credit to his suspicion, that it was the whole French fleet in Lagos-bay; and for any squadron they were not afraid of them.

‡ Kennet's History of England, vol. iii. p. 687. The Present State of Europe, for 1695, p. 177. Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, p. 45.

white, he was also appointed admiral and commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, having a fleet of seventy men-of-war and merchant-ships under his care; and, having very successfully executed this commission, he remained several months in the Mediterranean with a very small force, where, nevertheless, he made a shift to preserve our trade from the insults of the enemy; and at length, received orders to return, he executed them with so much prudence, that he arrived safely on the English coast on the 22d of April, 1696, to the great joy and satisfaction of the nation in general, which was much alarmed, from an apprehension, that the French fleet at Toulon, to which he was much inferiour in strength, should come up with him. *

Soon after his arrival, he took upon him the command of the fleet, had orders to proceed to the Soundings, † and to lie in such a station, as he should judge most proper for preventing the French fleet from getting into any port of France; but receiving intelligence, that the Toulon squadron had gotten safe into Brest, and the largest ships in the fleet being very foul, he thought fit to return, agreeable to his instructions, and put into Torbay. ‡

There the fleet being reinforced to eighty-five sail of the line, Sir George Rooke formed the glorious project of burning the whole French fleet, or forcing them to take shelter in the harbour of Brest, while he bombarded all the adjacent coasts; but, while he was meditating this great design, he unexpectedly received orders to return to London, and attend his duty at the board; § yet, so desirous was he of being in action, and so, thoroughly

* Burchet's Naval History, book iv. chap. xv. The Complete History of Europe for 1709. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 43. London Gazette, No. 3178.

† Burchet's Memoirs, p. 332. The Present State of Europe, for 1696, p. 168. London Gazette, No. 3182.

‡ London Gazette, No. 3186, 3187.

§ Ibid. No. 3190.

persuaded of the possibility of the thing, that, upon his coming to town, he proposed the matter to the duke of Shrewsbury; who approved it, but found it requisite to lay his project before the privy council, where it was considered, till the season for putting it in execution was entirely over; and then declared a very prudent, well-concerted measure, and another admiral blamed for not doing what he would willingly have done; but that the captains of the fleet were unanimously of opinion, that it was too late in the year to think of attempting an expedition of such importance.*

Admiral Russel, in the spring of the year 1697, being declared earl of Orford, and placed at the head of the admiralty, with a kind of absolute command, his presence was thought so necessary there, that Sir George Rooke was appointed admiral and commander-in-chief of the fleet,† which put to sea in a very indifferent condition, being but half manned, and scarcely half victualled, toward the latter end of June. As the French avoided fighting, Sir George found it impossible to do any thing very considerable; and yet this summer's expedition gained him no small reputation, and that from an action, bold in itself, but withal strictly just, and very beneficial to the nation. For as he was cruising off the French coast, he met with a large fleet of Swedish merchant-men, and having obliged them to bring to, and submit to be searched, he found just grounds to believe, that their cargoes belonged most of them to French merchants; upon which, he sent them, under the convoy of some frigates, into Plymouth. This made a great noise, the

* The reader will find this project of Sir George Rooke and a large account of that affair, by turning to the naval operations of the year in which it happened, in our former volume; and from it he will easily collect, that Sir George Rooke was cautious only, when he wanted a proper strength, and that no admiral was more active or vigorous than he, whenever such a force was under his command.

† London Gazette, No. 3288, 3295.

Swedish minister interposed, and some of our statesmen were inclined to disapprove Sir George's conduct. *

* We have the whole of this matter set in a clear light, in a small quarto pamphlet of two sheets, intitled, A short account of the true state of the case of the Swedish merchant-fleet, lately brought up on their voyage from France, by Admiral Rooke, and sent into Plymouth.

The account given in this pamphlet, of the fraud, runs thus: "The Swede did build a ship, of more or less tons, on his own account; whereupon he could safely make oath before the magistrate, that the same ship was his own, and did really belong to him, and was built at his proper costs and charges; and thereupon he obtained a pass for the said ship, as being a Swedish ship, built in Swedeland, and belonging to one of that king's subjects. This being done, the Swede sold and transported the very same ship to a Dutch, Lubeck, or Hamburgh merchant; who, in consideration of the other service, did give him one quarter, or eighth part, (as they could best agree upon) in the said ship, on condition, that the Swede should always provide new passos as often as there should be occasion for them; and that the said ship should always go under the Swede's name, and by that means traffic unmolested to, and with France; which practice the Swede flattered himself that he might securely enough continue, without acting thereby against his conscience, or committing the least perjury by so doing; there being no occasion, according to the custom and laws of that country, to make oath a-fresh for every other voyage, for getting of new passes, because the first oath suffices for good and all. So that, by this mental reservation, the Swede could obtain as many passes as he pleased, and for all that, his conscience not concerned in the least thereby. Nay, by the proofs made against the said Swedish fleet, taken from their own hand-writings, books, and letters, now under examination in the court of admiralty, it does manifestly appear, that, to take off all suspicion, and to obviate all objections and dangers that might befall such a ship, the foreign merchant ordered the Swede to make a bill of sale of the ship, in the Swede's own name, though he had not the least right to the said ship, nor did any part therein belong to him. Another artifice has also been used, the more easily to obtain the passes in Stockholm, viz. Some of those foreign merchants sent their servants thither to be made burghers, *pro forma*; and by this means they procured the passes, although such servant had neither estate nor money for himself, but was supplied by his master, who lived either in Holland, at Lubeck, or at Hamburgh, or elsewhere, upon whose account this glorious trade was carried on.

But as he was a man not apt to take rash steps, and consequently seldom in the wrong, he was not of a temper to be frightened from his duty, or to be brought to desist from any thing he took to be right. Sir George therefore insisted, that the matter should be brought to a fair trial, before the court of admiralty: where, upon the clearest evidence, it plainly appeared, that these Swedish ships were freighted by French merchants, partly with French goods, but chiefly with Indian merchandize, which had been taken out of English and Dutch ships; and that the Swedes had no further concern therein, than as they received two per cent. by way of gratification, for lending their names, procuring passes, and taking other necessary precautions for screening the effects of the French merchants; so that the whole of this rich fleet was adjudged to be good prize: and the clamour that had been raised against Sir George Rooke, was converted into general applause! *

* We may easily guess at the evidence upon which these ships were declared lawful prize, from the following letter of instruction, written by a French merchant, to John Conrad Dobeik, dated July 26, 1696.

“ I thank you, that you will help, Martin Francen. I have bought a fly-boat here, of 230 tons, for a good friend, and would gladly let her sail under your name, on condition that you should have a certain profit for it; and assuring myself, that you will not refuse me, seeing it can be done without prejudice to you. I have caused the bill of sale to be made in your name, viz. That I have bought the said ship for your account and adventure. Now, I would fain have a skipper come from Stockholm, who is a burgher there, and I judge it to be necessary, First, That a notary's bill of sale be sent over. Secondly, That a declaration be made before a notary, and witnesses, that the said ship doth belong to you. Thirdly, That you write a letter to the magistrate of Stockholm, to grant you a pass; and Fourthly, To write a letter to Mr. Conrad, to send such a master with a pass, with order to follow my direction whilst you are in Spain. When you come hither, we shall agree what you shall have for each pass that you shall send for here. The declaration before a notary I shall send you to sign, and the witnesses who subscribe shall be Luke Williamson, Marcus Begman, and

He was again ordered to sea, though it was very late in the year, and continued on the French coasts till toward the month of October, making such detachments as were necessary for securing our own homeward-bound trade, and that of the Dutch; which he performed very successfully, as the gazettes of that nation gratefully acknowledge; and the campaign and the war ending together, he gave the necessary orders for laying up the great ships, and then returned to town, where he was received with equal satisfaction by all parties, having as yet done little to disoblige those who afterwards persecuted him with the utmost rancour.

This violent resentment was chiefly owing to his conduct in parliament; for being next year elected member for Portsmouth, * and voting mostly with those that were called Tories, great pains were taken to ruin him in the king's opinion; but, to the immortal honour of King William, when pressed to remove Sir George Rooke from his seat at the admiralty-board, he answered plainly, I will not. "Sir George Rooke (continued his majesty,) served me faithfully at sea, and I will never displace him, for acting as he thinks most for the service of his country in the house of commons." An answer truly worthy of a British prince, as it tends to preserve the freedom of our constitution, and what is essential thereto, the liberty of parliament. The whole year 1699 was spent in peace, so that Sir George Rooke had leisure to attend his duty in the house; which he did with very great constancy, and behaved there as he thought became him; but was very rarely a speaker, though not at all deficient in that particular, as appeared, when he was heard at the bar, on the

"the broker; they not knowing otherwise, but that I bought the ship for your account; in this manner, no pass can be denied, and when once a pass is taken out, one may always be had, &c."

* The Complete History of Europe, for 1709, p. 389. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 62. Parliamentary Register, p. 197.

business of the Smyrna fleet in 1693. But in the spring of the year 1700, a war broke out in the north, which had like to have totally overturned the balance of power in that part of Europe, through a shameful confederacy, formed against Charles XII. of Sweden, then in a manner a child, which moved King William to send a fleet thither to his assistance; which was undoubtedly the wisest foreign measure in that whole reign; and, as it was well concerted, so it was very prudently and happily executed. For Sir George Rooke, who was entrusted with the command of the combined fleet of the maritime powers, did their business effectually, by succouring the Swedes, without oppressing the Danes; as I have shewn in its proper place, and have remarked, that the king of Sweden, upon this occasion, gave a noble instance of his early genius, by penetrating Sir George Rooke's orders, from the consideration of his conduct. *

Sir George Rooke was elected in the new parliament of 1701, for the town of Portsmouth; which was not then considered in that light in which navy boroughs have since stood; if it had, they would have obliged the court in their members. Bishop Burnet tells us, that though the ministry had a clear majority, in whatever related to the king's business; yet, the activity of the angry side was such, that they had a majority in chusing the speaker, and in determining controverted elections. † The truth of the matter was, the ministry persuaded the king to abet the interest of Sir Thomas Littleton, against Robert Harley, Esq. afterwards the famous earl of Oxford; and with this view his majesty spoke to Sir George Rooke, Sir Charles Hedges, and several other persons of distinction, in favour of Sir Thomas; which however had not the desired

* Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 63. The Complete History of Europe, for 1709, p. 389.

† Parliamentary Register, p. 197. History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 295.

effect, since they voted for Mr. Harley, who was accordingly placed in the chair. I mention this, to shew the steadiness of Sir George Rooke, and to prove, that he was a man who acted upon principle, and was not governed in his political conduct either by hopes or fears. *

Yet Sir George was for the war against France, and for carrying it on vigorously; and, as I shall shew hereafter, he was uniform in his conduct, though he had the misfortune to be censured for want of vigour, merely because he shewed too strong an inclination that way. I do not say this from any liking I have to the maintaining paradoxes, or playing with words; but because I take it to be the fair truth, and that I could not express it otherwise, without doing his memory injustice. †

Upon the accession of Queen Anne, in 1702, Sir George was constituted vice-admiral, and lieutenant of the admiralty of England, as also lieutenant of the fleets and seas of this kingdom; ‡ and, upon the declaration of war against France, it was resolved, that Sir George Rooke should command the grand fleet sent against Cadiz, his grace the duke of Ormond having the command in chief of the land forces. § I shall not enter into the history of that expedition, because I have already given the best account of it that was in my power: || I shall only say here, that when it appeared to be a thing very difficult, if

* It was certainly wrong in the king to interfere in this matter at all, because he ran too great a risk, in case of a disappointment; and experience will always shew, that in the end such princes are safest, and most happy, who suffer the machine of government to roll on, according to its natural construction, without tampering at all; which serves only to spoil it, and expose them extremely.

† The reader, if he consult Burnet's History, and compare it with Oldmixon's, will be convinced of the truth of what I say.

‡ London Gazette, No. 3810.

§ The duke of Ormond had been appointed commander-in-chief of the land-forces, in the month preceding. London Gazette, No. 3803.

|| See vol. iii. p. 349.

not impracticable, for the land-forces to make themselves masters of the place, Sir George Rooke proposed bombarding it; which occasioned a long representation from the prince of Hesse d'Armstadt, setting forth, that such a proceeding would entirely alienate the affection of the Spaniards from the house of Austria; and as Sir George could not but discern the inconsistency of this method with the manifesto which had been published in the duke of Ormond's name and his own, he was prevailed upon to desist; and when he had done this, he judged it best to return home both with the fleet and army; the land and sea-officers unanimously concurring, in that respect, with him in opinion; excepting only the duke of Ormond, and Baron Sparr, who protested against it. Upon this opinion, for returning home, the charge was founded against him, for want of vigour, whereas nothing can be more clear, than that Sir George inclined to act more vigorously than his instructions would permit; and therefore when he saw that proposal rejected, and that nothing could be done abroad, thought it the wisest way to come home. Of this he was certainly the best judge, since he had been often in those parts before; and knew very well, if once the Spaniards took a resolution, fair words would not go far towards making them alter it.*

On the 19th of September, 1702, the fleet sailed,† and had for several days a fair but very gentle wind; and, in their passage home, the admiral, on the 6th of October, received an account from Captain Hardy, that the galleons, under the escort of a strong French squadron, had gotten into the harbour of Vigo; upon which Sir George

* Burchet's Naval History, book v. chap. x. Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 289. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 330. The Complete History of Europe, for 1702. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 68--100. Boyer's Life of Queen Anne.

† Burchet's Naval History, p. 625. London Gazette, No. 3850, 3853.

resolved to attack them; and, having declared his resolution the next day in a council of flag-officers, they concurred with him, and it was unanimously resolved to put it in execution. Accordingly the fleet sailed for Vigo, and, on the 11th of October, came before the harbour of Rodondello, where the French commodore, to do him justice, had neglected nothing that was necessary for putting the place into the best posture of defence possible, which, however, did not signify much. For a detachment of fifteen English and ten Dutch men-of-war of the line-of-battle, and all the fire-ships, were ordered in; the frigates and bomb-vessels were to follow the rear of the detachment; and the great ships were to move after them, while the army was to land near Rodondello. The whole service was performed under Sir George's directions with admirable conduct and bravery; all the ships were destroyed or taken; prodigious damage was done to the enemy; and immense wealth acquired by the allies. Afterwards, the duke of Ormond, and Sir George Rooke, though he was much indisposed with the gout, congratulated each other on this glorious success, and then continued their voyage home, arriving safely in the Downs on the 7th of November; and the admiral soon after came up to London. *

While the fleet and army were thus employed abroad, her majesty had thought fit, from the advice of her ministers, to call a new parliament at home, to meet on the 20th of October; of which parliament Sir George was, in his absence, chosen a member for Portsmouth; and, as soon as he came to take his seat in the house, the speaker was directed, in the name of the commons of England,

* Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 332. Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 292. Burchet's Naval History, p. 625. Annals of Queen Anne, vol. viii. p. 363, 364. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 101. London Gazette, No. 3858, 3860.

to return him thanks; which he did in the following terms : *

“ SIR GEORGE ROOKE,

“ You are now returned to this house after a most glorious expedition : her majesty began her reign with a declaration, that her heart was truly English ; and heaven hath made her triumph over the enemies of England : for this thanks hath been returned in a most solemn manner to almighty God. There remains yet a debt of gratitude to those who have been the instruments of so wonderful a victory, (the duke of Ormond and yourself, who had the command of the sea and land forces.) In former times admirals and generals have had success against France and Spain separately, but this action at Vigo hath been a victory over them confederated together ; you have not only spoiled the enemy, but enriched your own country ; common victories bring terrors to the conquered ; but you brought destruction upon them, and additional strength to England.

“ France hath endeavoured to support its ambition by the riches of India ; your success, Sir, hath only left them the burden of Spain, and stripped them of the assistance of it. The wealth of Spain and ships of France are by this victory brought over to our juster cause. This is an action so glorious in the performance, and so extensive in its consequence, that, as all times will preserve the memory of it, so every day will inform us of the benefit.

“ No doubt, Sir, but in France you are written, in remarkable characters, in the black list of those who have taken French gold ; and it is justice done to the duke of Ormond, and your merit, that should stand recorded

* The Complete History of Europe, for the year 1702, p. 448. Chandler's Debates, vol. iii. p. 244. Life of George Rooke, p. 116.

“ in the registers of this house, as the sole instrument of
“ this glorious victory ; therefore this house came to the
“ following resolution :

“ Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That the thanks of
“ this house be given to the duke of Ormond, and Sir
“ George Rooke, for the great and signal service performed by them, for the nation, at sea and land ; which
“ thanks I now return you.”

To this Sir George Rooke answered :

“ Mr. SPEAKER,

“ I am now under great difficulty how to express myself
“ on this very great occasion : I think myself very happy,
“ that, in zeal and duty to yourself, it hath been my
“ good fortune to be the instrument of that which may
“ deserve your notice, and much more the return of your
“ thanks.

“ I am extremely sensible of this great honour, and
“ shall take all the care I can to preserve it to my grave,
“ and convey it to my posterity, without spot or blemish,
“ by a constant affection, and zealous perseverance in
“ the queen’s and your service. Sir, no man hath the
“ command of fortune, but every man hath virtue at his
“ will ; and though I may not always be successful in
“ your service, as upon this expedition, yet I may presume to assure, I shall never be more faulty.

“ I must repeat my inability to express myself upon
“ this occasion ; but, as I have a due sense of the honour
“ this house hath been pleased to do me, I shall always
“ retain a due and grateful memory of it. And, though
“ my duty and allegiance are strong obligations upon me
“ to do my best in the service of my country, I shall
“ always take this as a particular tie upon me to do right
“ and justice to your service upon all occasions.”

But, notwithstanding the queen having celebrated this

action by a day of thanksgiving,* and that her example had been imitated by the States-general;† notwithstanding this thanks of the house of commons, and the queen's giving a seat to Sir George Rooke in the privy-council;‡ it was resolved to inquire into his conduct in the house of lords, the reason of which is very candidly given by Bishop Burnet.§ He tells us, that the duke of Ormond was extremely angry with Sir George Rooke, and had complained loudly of his behaviour at Cadiz, upon his return home; and though he was afterwards softened, that is, in the bishop's opinion, by being made lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and so willing to drop his complaint, yet he had spoken of the matter to so many lords, that it was impossible to avoid an inquiry, though he might not then desire it.

A committee was accordingly appointed by the house of lords to examine into the whole affair; and they did it very effectually, not only by considering the instructions and other papers relating to the Cadiz expedition, but by sending for Sir George Rooke, and the principal sea and land officers, all of whom were very strictly examined. In his defence the bishop admits, that Sir George arraigned his instructions very freely, and took very little care of a ministry, which, according to this prelate's account, took so much care of him.

The truth of the matter was, Sir George set the whole affair in its proper light. He shewed that, throughout the whole expedition, the enemy had great advantages: for, if it was considered on the peaceable side, they had a king of Spain, called to the succession by the will of the last king, and acknowledged by the best part of the nation; whereas the allies had not then set up any other king, but invited the Spaniards, in general terms, to support the interest of the house of Austria, which was very incon-

* London Gazette, No. 3859, 3862.

† Ibid. No. 3866.

‡ Ibid. No. 5364.

§ History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 341.

sistent with the temper and genius of a nation always distinguished for their loyalty: that, on the side of war, the instructions seemed to contradict themselves; for, whereas they were empowered to use hostilities, the declaration promised peace and protection; * that, consequently, whoever executed these instructions, would be liable either to a charge of shewing too much pity and concern for those people, or of not acting vigorously in the support of the common cause; and Sir George observed, that, by endeavouring to avoid giving grounds for either, he had drawn upon himself both these charges.

For, whereas he inclined to gentle methods when they first came before the place, the construction given to this was, that he intended only to amuse and make a shew; but that, finding this indulgence had no effect, and that, after the outrages committed at Port St. Mary, there was nothing to be hoped for from the Spaniards, he proposed bombarding the place: which must have succeeded, but that the prince of Hesse Darmstadt protested against it, as an action that would alienate the people entirely from the interest of the house of Austria. He then thought that, as fair means would do nothing, and force was not to be tried, the only measure left was to return home. The committee made their report, and the house passed a vote, which fully justified Sir George Rooke's conduct, the duke thinking it proper to be absent upon that occasion. †

* See the declaration published by the duke of Ormond at his first coming on the Spanish coast, dated the 21st of August, N. S. in the London Gazette, No. 3843. The Complete History of Europe for 1702, p. 316.

† The most natural account of the duke's behaviour is, that when he saw the unreasonableness of his own heat, and the justness of the admiral's sentiments, clearly made out, he was ashamed of the trouble he had given the house; and, as a man of honour, retired, that his presence might not put any of his friends under difficulties. It must be likewise observed, that the house of lords was not at all disposed to favour Rooke's party, but rather the contrary, as appears by the

In the year 1703, Sir George Rooke was again at sea, but waited so long for the Dutch, that the scheme, which was a very good one, and entirely of his own projecting, became impracticable; and as he was restrained from sailing, when he desired, by orders from the lord high-admiral, so he had orders for sailing, when he thought the proper time was past; which, however, he obeyed, and continued for about a month upon the French coasts; and, having greatly alarmed them, returned back with the fleet, having done less, indeed, than he could have wished, but not less than might have been expected from a fleet in such a condition as his was, sailing so late in the year. * His enemies indeed said then, as they said often, that he intended to do nothing; which can scarcely be believed, since he was extremely ill when he took the command upon him; growing worse, desired to resign it; † but afterwards, finding himself better, put to sea. ‡ This certainly looked as if he had the expedition much at heart; for, though some men trifle with the affairs of their country, yet certainly no man, who had common sense, ever played the fool with his own health and safety. §

On his return Sir George had a severe fit of the gout, which obliged him to go down to Bath; || and then it was given out, that he did this because he was laid aside. But the contrary very speedily appeared; party-measures were not yet so strongly supported as to produce any event like this; and therefore, upon his coming to town again, Sir George was as well received at court as ever; stood

whole proceedings of that session; so that nothing can be more partial than to ascribe this vote to partiality.

* Burchet's Naval History, b. v. c. 13. The Complete History of Europe for 1703. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 119. London Gazette, No. 3906, 3907, 3911.

† London Gazette, No. 3912.

‡ Ibid. No. 3914.

§ Ibid. No. 3917, 3923. See vol. iii. p. 384, 385.

|| Sir George returned to St. Helen's on the 22d of June with the fleet. London Gazette, No. 3925. Burchet's Naval History, p. 645.

in the same light with his royal highness the lord high-admiral; and was soon after employed in a station worthy of his character, and of the high posts he had already filled. *

A resolution having been taken by the British ministry to send over King Charles III. of Spain on board our fleet, in the spring of the year 1704, choice was made of Sir George Rooke to command the ships of war employed for that purpose; and he shewed himself extremely active and vigilant in this service.† He was at Portsmouth in the beginning of the month of February, where he did every thing that could be expected from him to hasten the expedition; but finding that the Dutch were backward in sending the ships that were to have joined the fleet, and that the king was extremely eager to be gone, he very generously made a proposal for the furtherance of that design; which shews him to have been as hearty toward the common cause as any admiral then living. For he offered to proceed with his Catholic majesty, without waiting for the Dutch, if he could have assurance given him, that he should have proper assistance sent after him to Lisbon; and this assurance, upon which he insisted, was nothing more than putting Sir Cloudesley Shovel at the head of that reinforcement.

This proposition was accepted, and Sir George sailed on the 12th of February, ‡ from St. Helen's, and continued

* I have already given a full account of this matter, and therefore it is unnecessary to detain the reader long upon it here. I cannot, however, help intimating, that there seems to have been some secret at the bottom of this undertaking, with which, hitherto, the world is not thoroughly acquainted, and therefore cannot so perfectly judge of the admiral's conduct; it may be, posterity will obtain, from memoirs not hitherto published, an exact detail of the management of the war in Spain, which would bring many singular passages to light.

† Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 354. Oldmixon. Boyer's Life of Queen Anne.

‡ Burchet's Naval History, b. v. chap. xvi. London Gazette, No. 3993.

his voyage so happily to Lisbon, that he arrived there safely on the 25th; the king of Spain expressing the highest satisfaction with the admiral, and the zeal and diligence he had shewn in his service.* That this proceeded entirely from sentiments of public spirit, and not from any views of ingratiating himself with that monarch, or any other foreign prince, is evident from Sir George's refusing to gratify the kings of Spain and Portugal, in a point of ceremony which he thought injurious to the honour of the British flag, of which we have given a large account in the former part of this volume; and yet neither of the kings took this at all amiss, but treated him with the same regard and esteem as before.†

When the expedition against Barcelona was first set on foot, Sir George Rooke immediately concurred to the utmost of his power, and the fleet arrived safely before that city in the beginning of May. The troops on board were, with great difficulty, made up to two thousand men, by volunteers from the fleet; and yet, with this handful of forces, the place might possibly have been taken, if the partizans of the house of Austria, instead of holding private consultations, had ventured upon some vigorous resolution, and executed it immediately.‡ But they met so often, and to so little purpose, that King Philip's viceroy

* That prince presented Sir George Rooke with a sword, the hilt of which was set with diamonds; a buckle for a hatband, adorned in like manner, and also a button and loop. He gave Captain Wishart his picture set with diamonds, and two hundred guineas. One hundred guineas to Sir George Rooke's secretary, and various other presents to the rest of the officers.

† See vol. iii. p. 408.

‡ Here something might have been done, if there had been a sufficient number of land forces; for the people were enough inclined to revolt, if they had not been deterred by their fears. My Spanish author paints this finely; the mal-contents, says he, durst not join so small a body of troops, and so (*permanecio traydoramente fiel la provincia*) the province remained loyal, with the best will in the world to have acted otherwise.

discovered the design, and arrested the persons who were at the head of it; which frustrated the whole affair, and engaged even the gallant and enterprising prince of Hesse d'Armstadt, to desire the admiral to re-embark the troops, which he accordingly did. *

The attempt on Barcelona having thus miscarried, the admiral, though not joined by the reinforcement from England, chased the Brest squadron into Toulon; and having afterwards passed through the Straits-mouth, joined Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with the fleet under his command, off Lagos; and continued cruizing for about a month, in expectation of orders from home, or from the court of Spain. On the 17th of July, being in the road of Tetuan, a council of war was called, in which several schemes were examined, but were all found to be impracticable. At last, Sir George Rooke proposed the attacking of Gibraltar, which was agreed to, and immediately put in execution; for, the fleet arriving there on the 21st of the same month, the troops, which were but eighteen hundred men, were landed the same day; the admiral gave the signal for cannonading the place on the 22d, and, by the glorious courage of the English seamen, the place was taken on the 24th, as the reader will see by Sir George Rooke's own account, † which we have placed

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 670, 675, 676. Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 388. The Complete History of Europe, for 1704, p. 283. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 123. London Gazette, No. 4018, 4035.

† This is to be found in the London Gazette, No. 4045, and whoever considers the consequence of this action, and compares it with the modesty of Sir George Rooke's expressions, will need no other character of the man.

" The 17th of July, the fleet being then about seven leagues to the eastward of Tetuan, a council of war was held on board the Royal Catherine, wherein it was resolved to make a sudden attempt upon Gibraltar; and accordingly the fleet sailed thither, and the 21st got into that bay; and, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the marines, English and Dutch, to the number of one thousand eight hundred,

at the bottom of the page. After this remarkable service, the Dutch admiral thought of nothing but returning home,

“ with the prince of Hesse at the head of them, were put on shore
 “ on the neck of land to the northward of the town, to cut off any
 “ communication with the country. His highness having posted
 “ his men there, sent a summons to the governor to surrender the
 “ place, for the service of his catholic majesty; which he rejected
 “ with great obstinacy; the admiral, on the 22d in the morning, gave
 “ orders that the ships which had been appointed to cannonade the
 “ town under the command of Rear-admiral Byng, and Rear-admiral
 “ Vanderdussen, as also of those which were to batter the south mole
 “ head, commanded by Captain Hicks of the *Yarmouth*, should range
 “ themselves accordingly; but the wind blowing contrary, they could
 “ not possibly get into their places, till the day was spent. In the
 “ mean time, to amuse the enemy, Captain Whitaker was sent with
 “ some boats, who burnt a French privateer of twelve guns at the
 “ mole. The 23d, soon after break of day, the ships being all placed,
 “ the admiral gave the signal for beginning the cannonade: which
 “ was performed with very great fury, above fifteen thousand shot
 “ being made in five or six hours time against the town, insomuch
 “ that the enemy were soon beat from their guns, especially at the
 “ south mole-head: whereupon the admiral, considering that by gain-
 “ ing the fortification they should of consequence reduce the town,
 “ ordered Captain Whitaker, with all the boats, armed, to endeavour
 “ to possess himself of it; which was performed with great expedition.
 “ But Captain Hicks, and Captain Junper, who lay next the mole,
 “ had pushed on shore with their pinnaces, and some other boats,
 “ before the rest could come up; whereupon the enemy sprung a mine,
 “ that blew up the fortification upon the mole, killed two lieutenants,
 “ and about forty men, and wounded about sixty. However, our
 “ men kept possession of the great platform which they had made
 “ themselves masters of, and Captain Whitaker landed with the rest
 “ of the seamen which had been ordered upon this service; they
 “ advanced, and took a redoubt, or small bastion, half way between
 “ the mole and the town, and possessed themselves of many of the
 “ enemy’s cannon. The admiral then sent a letter to the governor,
 “ and at the same time a message to the prince of Hesse to send to
 “ him a peremptory summons; which his highness did accordingly;
 “ and on the 24th in the morning, the governor desiring to capitulate,
 “ hostages were exchanged, and the capitulation being concluded, the
 “ prince marched into the town in the evening, and took possession
 “ of the land and north-mole gates, and the out-work. The articles
 “ are in substance as follow:

I. That the garrison, officers and soldiers, may depart, with their necessary arms and baggage, and the officers and other gentlemen of

and actually detached six men-of-war to Lisbon; so little appearance was there of any engagement.

But, on the 9th of August, the French fleet, under the command of the Count de Thoulouse, was first seen at sea, and appeared to be by much the strongest that had been equipped during this whole war; the English admiral, however, resolved to do all that lay in his power to force an engagement. I have already given a fair account * of the battle which followed off Malaga, and also the relation published by the French court; but I purposely reserved Sir George Rooke's own account, as published by authority, for this place, to which, indeed, it properly

the town may also carry their horses with them; they may likewise have what boats they shall have occasion for.

II. That they may take out of the garrison three pieces of brass cannon, of different weight, with twelve charges of powder and ball.

III. That they may take provisions of bread, wine, and flesh, for six days march.

IV. That none of the officers baggage be searched, although it be carried out in chests or trunks. That the garrison depart in three days; and such of their necessaries as they cannot carry out with conveniency, may remain in the garrison, and be afterwards sent for; and that they shall have the liberty to make use of some carts.

V. That such inhabitants, and soldiers, and officers of the town, as are willing to remain there, shall have the same privileges they enjoyed in the time of Charles II. and their religion and tribunals shall remain untouched, upon condition that they take an oath of fidelity to King Charles III. as their lawful king and master.

VI. That they shall discover all their magazines of powder, and other ammunition, or provisions and arms, that may be in the city.

VII. That all the French, and subjects of the French king, are excluded from any part of these capitulations, and all their effects shall remain at our disposal, and their persons prisoners of war.

"The town is extremely strong, and had an hundred guns mounted, all facing the sea, and the two narrow passes to the land, and was well supplied with ammunition. The officers, who have viewed the fortifications, affirm, there never was such an attack as the seamen made; for that fifty men might have defended those works against thousands. Ever since our coming to the bay, great numbers of Spaniards have appeared on the hills; but none of them have thought fit to advance towards us."

* See vol. iii. p. 418.

belongs. It was dated from on board the Royal Katherine, off Cape St. Vincent, August 27, O. S. 1704, and addressed to his Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark.* It runs thus :

“ On the 9th instant, returning from watering our ships on the coast of Barbary, to Gibraltar, with little wind easterly, our scouts to the windward made the signals of seeing the enemy’s fleet ; which, according to the account they gave, consisted of sixty-six sail, and were about ten leagues to windward of us. A council of flag-officers was called, wherein it was determined to lie to the eastward of Gibraltar to receive and engage them. But perceiving that night, by the report of their signal guns, that they wrought from us, we followed them in the morning with all the sail we could make.

“ On the 11th, we forced one of the enemy’s ships a-shore, near Fuengorolo ; the crew quitted her, set her on fire, and she blew up immediately. We continued still pursuing them ; and the 12th, not hearing any of their guns all night, nor seeing any of their scouts in the morning, our admiral had a jealousy they might make a double, and, by the help of their gallies, slip between us and the shore to the westward : so that a council of war was called, wherein it was resolved, That, in case we did not see the enemy before night, we should make the best of our way to Gibraltar ; but standing in to the shore about noon, we discovered the enemies fleet and gallies to the westward, near Cape Malaga, going very large. We immediately made all the sail we could, and continued the chase all night.

“ On Sunday the 13th, in the morning, we were within three leagues of the enemy, who brought to, with their heads to the southward, the wind being easterly, formed

† See the London Gazette, No 4054.

“ their line and lay to to receive us. Their line consisted
“ of fifty-two ships, and twenty-four gallies; they were
“ very strong in the centre, and weaker in the van and
“ rear, to supply which, most of the gallies were divided
“ into those quarters. In the centre was Monsieur de
“ Thoulouse, with the white squadron; in the van the
“ white and blue, and in the rear the blue; each admiral
“ had his vice and rear-admirals: our line consisted of
“ fifty-three ships, the admiral, and Rear-admirals Byng
“ and Dilkes, being in the centre; Sir Cloudesley Shovel
“ and Sir John Leake led the van, and the Dutch the
“ rear.

“ The admiral ordered the Swallow and Panther, with
“ the Lark and Newport, and two fire-ships, to lie to the
“ windward of us, that, in case the enemy's van should
“ push through our line with their gallies and fire-ships,
“ they might give them some diversion.

“ We bore down upon the enemy in order of battle, a
“ little after ten o'clock, when being about half gun-shot
“ from them, they set all their sails at once, and seemed
“ to intend to stretch a-head and weather us, so that our
“ admiral, after firing a chace-gun at the French admiral,
“ to stay for him, of which he took no notice, put the
“ signal out, and began the battle, which fell very heavy
“ on the Royal Katherine, St. George, and the Shrews-
“ bury. About two in the afternoon, the enemy's van
“ gave way to ours, and the battle ended with the day,
“ when the enemy went away, by the help of their gallies,
“ to the leeward. In the night the wind shifted to the
“ northward, and in the morning to the westward, which
“ gave the enemy the wind of us. We lay by all day,
“ within three leagues one of another, repairing our de-
“ fects; and at night they filled and stood to the north-
“ ward.

“ On the 15th, in the morning, the enemy was got four
“ or five leagues to the westward of us; but a little before

“ noon we had a breeze of wind easterly, with which we bore down on them till four o'clock in the afternoon : it being too late to engage, we brought to, and lay by with our heads to the northward all night.

“ On the 16th, in the morning, the wind being still easterly, hazy weather, and having no sight of the enemy or their scouts, we filled and bore away to the westward, supposing they would have gone away for Cadiz ; but being advised from Gibraltar, and the coast of Barbary, that they did not pass the Straits, we concluded they had been so severely treated as to oblige them to return to Toulon.

“ The admiral says, he must do the officers the justice to say, that every man in the line did his duty, without giving the least umbrage for censure or reflection, and that he never observed the true English spirit so apparent and prevalent in our seamen, as on this occasion.

“ This battle is so much the more glorious to her majesty's arms, because the enemy had a superiority of six hundred great guns, and likewise the advantage of cleaner ships, being lately come out of port, not to mention the great use of their gallies, in towing on or off their great ships, and in supplying them with fresh men, as often as they had any killed or disabled. But all these disadvantages were surmounted by the bravery and good conduct of our officers, and the undaunted courage of our seamen.”

On the return of Sir George Rooke to Portsmouth, and coming up from thence to Windsor, where the court then resided, he was extremely well received by the queen, and his royal highness the lord high-admiral. * But, unluckily for him, the battle off Malaga was, some way or other, compared to that of Blenheim, fought the same year ; which made the matter of fact a point of party-debate,

* London Gazette, No. 4058.

and in the addresses sent up from all parts of her majesty's dominions, the Whigs took all imaginable care to magnify the Duke of Marlborough's success, without saying a word of the victory at sea; whereas the Tories were equally zealous in their compliments upon both;* and, to say the truth, both of these battles were decisive; that of Blenheim put an end to the influence of France in the empire, as that off Malaga extinguished the French power at sea.

Among these addresses, the following was the most remarkable; it was presented by Sir Richard Vyvyan, Bart. and James Buller, Esq. knights of the shire for the county of Cornwall, attended by the representatives of boroughs in that county, and the principal gentry, introduced by the Lord Granville, lord-warden of the stannaries; the address itself being penned by a relation of his, whose writings will always do honour to the English language.†

“ To the QUEEN's most excellent majesty.

“ Permit, madam, the landlords, bounders, adventurers,
 “ and whole body of the tinnors of Cornwall, with hearts
 “ full of all dutiful acknowledgments, to approach your
 “ majesty, who want words to express their gratitude,
 “ their joy, their admiration, for the wonderful success of
 “ your majesty's arms, under the conduct of his grace the
 “ duke of Marlborough.

“ Never was success greater in all its circumstances, a
 “ design more secretly carried on, so effectually supported
 “ from home, so vigorously executed abroad, on which no
 “ less than the liberty of Europe depended; a cause
 “ worthy the best of princes, a victory worthy the greatest

* Bishop Burnet's *History of his own Times*, vol. ii. p. 391. Boyer's *Life of Queen Anne*, p. 154. Oldmixon's *History of the Stuarts*, vol. ii. p. 340, 341. *Life of Sir George Rooke*, p. 135.

† *London Gazette*, No. 4074.

“ of generals, which will transmit to all future ages your
“ majesty’s name truly great; great for deliverance, not
“ for oppression.

“ But it is not enough that your majesty triumphs at
“ land; to complete your glory, your forces at sea have
“ likewise done wonders. A fleet so much inferior, in so
“ ill a condition, by being so long out, in such want of
“ ammunition, by taking Gibraltar without gallies, which
“ were of so great service to the enemy: all these disadvantages considered, nothing certainly could equal the
“ conduct of your admiral, the bravery of your officers,
“ the courage of your seamen during the engagement,
“ but their conduct, their bravery, and their courage
“ after it, whereby they perfected a victory, which otherwise, in human probability, must have ended in an
“ overthrow; an action as great in itself as happy in its
“ consequences.

“ May your majesty never want such commanders by
“ sea and land, such administration in the management
“ of the public treasure, which so much contributes to the
“ success of armies and of fleets.

“ May your majesty never want, (what sure you never
“ can,) the hearts, the hands, the purses, of all your
“ people. Had not we (madam) of this county inherited
“ the loyalty of our ancestors, (which your majesty has
“ been pleased so graciously to remember,) such obligations must have engaged the utmost respect; and such
“ all of us will ever pay to your sacred person and government, as with one voice we daily pray, **LONG LIVE**
“ **QUEEN ANNE**, to whom many nations owe their preservation.”

This, and some other addresses of the like nature, alarmed the ministry extremely; and they took so much pains to hinder Sir George Rooke from receiving the compliments usual upon such successes, that it became visible he must either give way or a change very speedily

happen in the administration. Yet even the weight of the ministry could not prevent the house of commons from complimenting the queen, expressly upon the advantages obtained at sea under the conduct of our admiral; but the house of lords, who were under a more immediate influence at that time, was entirely silent; the commons, however, as if they intended to push this matter as far as it would go, presented another address on the 2d of November, in which they desired her majesty to bestow a bounty upon the seamen and land forces, who had behaved themselves so gallantly in the late actions at sea and land. *

This determined the point, and Sir George Rooke perceiving that, as he rose in credit with his country, he lost his interest in those at the helm, resolved to retire from public business, and prevent the affairs of the nation from receiving any disturbance upon his account. Thus, immediately after he had rendered such important services to his country, as the taking the fortress of Gibraltar, and beating the whole naval force of France in the battle off Malaga, the last engagement which, during this war, happened between these two nations at sea, he was constrained to quit his command; and as the Tories had before driven the earl of Orford from his post, immediately after the glorious victory at La Hogue, so the Whigs returned them the compliment, by making use of their ascendancy to the like good purpose, with regard to Sir George Rooke: such is the effect of party-spirit in general! such the heat with which it proceeds! such its dangerous and destructive effects, with respect to the welfare of the state! †

* See Chandler's *Debates*, vol. iii. p. 393, 394. *Annals of Queen Anne*, vol. iv. p. 152, 153. Oldmixon, and other writers.

† Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, *Complete History of Europe*, for the year 1709, *Annals of Queen Anne*, *Life of Queen Anne*, *Memoirs of Sir George Rooke*, &c.

After this strange return for the services he had done his country, Sir George Rooke passed the remainder of his days as a private gentleman, and for the most part at his seat in Kent. His zeal for the church, and his strict adherence to the Tories, made him the darling of one set of people, and exposed him no less to the aversion of another; which is the reason that an historian finds it difficult to obtain his true character, from the writings of those who flourished in the same period of time. For my part, I have studied his actions, and his behaviour, and from thence have collected what I have delivered of him, without favour or prejudice: he was certainly an officer of great merit, if either conduct or courage could entitle him to that character. The former appeared in his behaviour on the Irish station, in his wise and prudent management, when he preserved so great a part of the Smyrna fleet, and particularly in the taking of Gibraltar, which was a project conceived and executed in less than a week. Of his courage he gave abundant testimonies; but especially in burning the French ships at La Hogue, and in the battle off Malaga, where he behaved with all the resolution of a British admiral; and as he was first in command, was first also in danger.

In party-matters, he was, perhaps, too warm and eager, for all men have their failings, even the greatest and best; but in action he was perfectly cool and temperate, gave his orders with the utmost serenity, and as he was careful in marking the conduct of his principal officers, so his candour and justice were always conspicuous in the accounts he gave of them to his superiours; he there knew no party, no private considerations, but commended merit wherever it appeared. He had a fortitude of mind that enabled him to behave with dignity upon all occasions, in the day of examination as well as in the day of battle; and though he was more than once called to the bar of the

house of commons, yet he always escaped censure ; as he likewise did before the lords ; not by shifting the fault upon others, or meanly complying with the temper of the times, but by maintaining steadily what he thought right, and speaking his sentiments with that freedom which becomes an Englishman, whenever his conduct in his country's service is brought in question. In a word, he was equally superiour to popular clamour, and popular applause ; but above all, he had a noble contempt for foreign interests, when incompatible with our own, and knew not what it was to seek the favour of the great, but by performing such actions as deserved it.

In his private life he was a good husband and a kind master, lived hospitably toward his neighbours, and left behind him a moderate fortune : so moderate, that when he came to make his will, it surprised those that were present ; but Sir George assigned the reason in a few words. " I do not leave much," said he, " but what I leave was honestly gotten, it never cost a sailor a tear, or the nation a farthing." As to this last article, I cannot but take notice, that, even after he was laid aside, a privy seal was offered him for passing his accounts, but he refused it, and made them up in the ordinary way, and with all the exactness imaginable.

The gout, which had for many years greatly afflicted him, brought him at last to his grave, on the 24th of January, 1708-9, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. Sir George was thrice married ; first, to Mrs. Mary Howe, the daughter of Sir Thomas Howe of Cold Berwick, in the county of Wilts, baronet : next, to Mrs. Mary Lutterel, daughter of Colonel Francis Lutterel, of Dunster-castle, in Somersetshire, who died in child-bed of her first child, in the month of July, 1702 ; and lastly, to Mrs. Katherine Knatchbull, daughter to Sir Thomas Knatchbull of Mershem-hatch, in the county of Kent,

baronet; by which wives he left only one son, born of the second, George Rooke, Esq. the sole heir of his fortune.*

But his executors took care to secure his memory, by erecting a beautiful monument in the cathedral church of Canterbury, with an excellent character of the deceased inscribed thereon, and which, as well for the beauty of the style as the exact settling of facts and dates, it may not be amiss to exhibit at the close of this life; the rather because it is among the small number of inscriptions which seem to be, in some measure, equal to the worth of the eminent persons whose praises they record. The executors of Sir George Rooke were William Broadnax, and Samuel Miller, Esqrs.

I. M. S.

Georgii Rooke Militis,
Gulielmi Rooke, Militis filii,
Angliæ Vice-Admiralli

Oh quantum est historiæ in isto nomine !
At quantillum hic titulis potis est enarrare !
Profugientibus ex Acie Gallis Anno MDCXCII.

Ipse apertâ Cymbulâ.
Immistus tormentorum globis,
Imbribusque glandium
(Tot Gallis testibus credite posteris)
Ultrices primus flammâ aptans,
Naves Bellicas XIII. juxta La Hogue combussit
Compositis dehinc inter Suevum et Danum
Summo consilio, et justitiâ discordiis ;
Et pacato septentrione, ad Meridiem se convertit,
Iterumque exustâ aut captâ ad Vigonem
Tota Præsidiatrice hostium Classe,

* The Complete History of Europe, for 1709, p. 396. Annals of Queen Anne, vol. viii. p. 364. Pointer's Chronological Historian, vol. ii. p. 641.

Atque onerariis immensæ molis argento fœtis

In Patriam feliciter adductis,

Opimam prædam, fide integerrimâ

In .Erarium publicum deportavit.

Gibraltarium copiis navalibus

Paucioribus horis cepit

Quam postea mensibus irritò conatu

Justus obsidebat exercitus.

Et eâdem fere impressione

Instructissimam Gallorem classem

Inferior multò viribus,

Consilio et fortitudine longè superior,

Non denuo in aciem prodituram, profligavit.

Sic { Carolò III. ad solium
Hispaniis ad Libertatem } viam aperuit.
Europæ ad Pacem }

His atque aliis exantlatis laboribus

Heroi Christiano,

Ob egregiam in Ecclesiam pietatem

Ob fidem Gulielmo magno,

Et ANNÆ OPTIMÆ

Sanctissimè semper præstitam ;

Ob Nomen Britannicum per terrarum Orbem

Amplificatum & decoratum ;

Non titulos superbos

Non opes invidiosas,

Nec inanes vulgi plausus ;

Sed optimæ mentis conscientiam,

Bonorum amorem omnium,

Otium in paternis sedibus

Et mortem in Christo concessit Deus.

Obiit XXIV. die Januar. Anno .Ætat. suæ LVIII.

Christi MDCCVIII.

MEMOIRS OF GEORGE CHURCHILL, ESQ. ADMIRAL
OF THE WHITE, ONE OF THE LORD HIGH-ADMIRAL'S
COUNCIL, GROOM OF THE BED-CHAMBER TO PRINCE
GEORGE OF DENMARK, &c.

As there are some who seem born to easy fortunes, and to a safe and quiet passage through the world; so there are others unlucky enough to be continually exposed to envy, though not excluded from honours. This arises from different causes, but chiefly from the want of popular talents, of which many are deprived by nature, and not a few neglect the use. I cannot say whether the first was the misfortune, or the second the fault, of the gentleman whose life I am at present to consider; but certain it is, that few men were more exposed to envy than he; especially if we remember, that he rose no higher in his profession than might seem the just reward of his services. But, however he might be persecuted by this spirit in his life-time, there seems to be not the least reason that the effects of popular dislike should attend his memory; and, therefore, it shall be my business to give as clear and candid an account of his actions as I can; and this, without any bias either from favour or prejudice.

He was the second son, his grace the duke of Marlborough being the eldest, of Sir Winston Churchill, Knight, clerk of the board of green-cloth, and of a worthy family in Dorsetshire.* He was born in the year 1652, some say in February, 1653,† and entered early into the sea service, where he always behaved with great courage and reputation; and this added to the interest of his family, procured him the command of a man-of-war before

* See the inscription upon his monument. *Antiquities of the Abbey of Westminster*, vol. ii. p. 19, 20.

‡ *Lediard's Life of John, duke of Marlborough*, vol. i. p. 7.

he was quite thirty, which was a thing very unusual in those days. In the reign of King James II. he was made captain of the Newcastle, * a fourth-rate; and soon after the Revolution he had a third-rate given him. In the famous battle of La Hogue he commanded the St. Andrew, a second-rate, in which he performed as good service as any officer in the fleet, according to all the accounts that were published of that engagement; † and yet, very soon after, he quitted the service, for which several reasons were assigned; but the true one is said to have been the promotion of Colonel Aylmer to the rank of rear-admiral, who being a younger officer, Mr. Churchill could not think of serving under him, but retired, and lived privately for some years. ‡

I shall not take upon me to censure this part of his conduct; though I must say, that I think it would be a very difficult task to justify it; since every man is bound to serve his country, whether he be rewarded or not; and, therefore, every resignation of this sort is usually attributed to a narrow and selfish spirit, though it is not impossible it may spring from a nobler principle; however, it is better certainly for an officer to avoid all those steps in his conduct that are liable to such sinister interpretations.

In the year 1699, he had an opportunity of coming again into business; for the current then bore so hard on the earl of Orford, who was at the head of the admiralty, that he found it necessary to resign. § Upon which a new commission issued, and another before the close of the year, in which Admiral George Churchill, was, among others, included, and in which he continued nearly two

* Pepy's Memoirs of the Royal Navy of England, p. 166.

† Burchet's Naval History, p. 466.

‡ The Complete History of Europe, for 1710, p. 25.

§ Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 237. Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 193. Life of King William, p. 526.

years; and then King William was pleased to declare Thomas, earl of Pembroke, lord high-admiral,* which threw him out again, though but for a very short time. For, upon the accession of Queen Anne, and the promotion of her consort, Prince George of Denmark, to be lord high-admiral, he was appointed one of his council,† and was restored to his rank in the navy,‡ which was chiefly owing to the high degree of favour in which he stood with his royal highness; who, among many other virtues which adorned his character, was for none more remarkable than for steadily supporting such as he had once honoured with his friendship.

His being made admiral of the blue, had the same effect upon Admiral Aylmer, as it is confidently said the promotion of that gentleman had a few years before upon Mr. Churchill; for he immediately quitted the service, and remained for several years unemployed. But, whatever satisfaction Mr. Churchill might receive from this victory over his rival, it is very certain that he could not be said to enjoy much pleasure in the post to which he was raised; for, during the six years he sat at that board, as his royal highness's council was continually attacked, so Mr. Churchill, in particular, had a double portion of that spite and resentment devolved upon him, with which our great losses at sea inspired many of our merchants; and this was very probably increased by the warmth of the admiral's temper, who had a very free way of speaking, and took, perhaps, too great liberties with men of such importance. §

For, as the naval power of Great Britain arises absolutely from her extensive trade, and the number of ships employed therein; it is very certain that there is a great

* Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 313.

† London Gazette, No. 3812. ‡ Ibid. No. 3810.

§ Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. Oldmixon's History of the Straits, vol. ii. Dover, and all our writers

respect due to those who carry on that trade, and are thereby so very instrumental to the wealth, prosperity, and grandeur of this nation, which are all founded upon its commerce. However, Mr. Churchill maintained himself, by his interest with Prince George, not only against the clamours of the many, and the intrigues of the few, but against several addresses and representations of the house of lords, which were particularly calculated for his removal.

His royal highness deceasing on the 28th of October, 1708, the commission which empowered his council to act, naturally determined; and thenceforward Admiral Churchill led a private life, at a pleasant house he had in Windsor Park, where he constructed the finest aviary that was ever seen in Britain, which he had collected with great care, and at a vast expense. This collection of birds, at his decease, he left to his two intimate friends and patrons, James, duke of Ormond, and Arthur, earl of Torrington.* He was never married, but dying in very good circumstances, he left the best part of his fortune to his natural son. He deceased on the 8th of May, 1710, in the 58th year of his age, and was buried, with great funeral solemnity, in the south isle of Westminster abbey, † where a beautiful monument has been erected to his memory, with the following elegant Latin inscription; which I insert as one of the most curious pieces of its kind that is any where to be met with; and as it contains a very full character of him, I need not add any thing further upon that subject.

P. S. E. .

GEORGIUS CHURCHILL,
Winstonii equitis aurati ex agro Dorcestriensi

The Complete History of Europe, for 1710, p. 26.

† Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 8. Annals of Queen Anne, vol. ix. p. 416. Le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, p. 189.

Filius natu secundus ;
Invictissimi Ducis Marlburii
Frater non indignus
A primâ juventute militiæ nomen dedit
Et sub regibus Carolo et Jacobo
Terra mariq ;
Multâ cum laude meruit.
Serenissimo Principi Georgii de Dania
Per viginti plus annos à cubiculis
Fide, obsequio, moribus
Gratum se redidit et charum.
Regnante Gulielmo
Quo die classis Gallica ab Anglis
Ad oras Neustriæ fugata et combusta est
(Die semper memorabili)
Eo animi vigore et fortitudinè pugnavit,
Quo Ducem Anglum decuit
Mox ab eodem rege,
Æquissimo meritorum judice,
Unus è commissariis admiralliæ constitutus
Res maritimas, quarum erat peritissimus,
Curavit diu et ornavit
Sub fœlicissimo demum Annæ imperio
Instaurato iterum bello contra Gallos,
Infestissimos hostes Britanni nominis
Ex admirallis unus
Et celsissimo Principi Daniæ
Magnæ totius Britanniæ admirallo
Factus è consiliis
Curarum omnium et laborum particeps
Domino suo
Fœlicissimam navabat operam,
Donec fractæ gallorum vires
Toto mari cesserant
Inde principis optimi lateri adhærens
Ad extremum usq ; diem

Omnia grati piq; animi officia
 Persolvit:
 Laboribus tandem et morbis confectus,
 Inter amplexus & lachrymas
 Amicorum, clientum, et servorum,
 Quos humanus, officiosus, liberalis,
 Grates devinctos & fideles habuit,
 Pius, tranquillus, animosus, cælebs
 Obijt viii. Majj.
 Ætat. LVIII.
 MDCCX.

MEMOIRS OF SIR DAVID MITCHELL, KNT. VICE-
 ADMIRAL OF THE RED, ONE OF THE LORDS-COM-
 MISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY, AND OF THE
 COUNCIL TO PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK, &c.

AMONG other reasons, of which there are many, for preserving, as far as possible, the memoirs of deserving persons deceased, who have risen to that degree of eminence by the services they have rendered to their country, this is not the least considerable, *viz.* to engage others to proceed as they have done, and to deserve like honours from a like conduct. It is certainly the highest encouragement to behave well, to see that in preceding times men have ascended thereby to the highest honours of which their professions were capable; and this without the countenance of great relations, or the assistance of any other friends than those procured to them by the display of their own desert. But, if this be a thing of consequence in every situation of life, it is much more so in respect of naval affairs. For, as there are none of the subjects of Great Britain more useful, or who reflect more honour upon their country, than such as are employed in the navy; so there is nothing that contributes so highly to

the support of that generous spirit, and invincible courage, by which they have been always distinguished, as the thoughts of their being able to rise in their own profession, by mere dint of merit, and without borrowing any help from those kinds of arts, to which, from their education and manner of living, they must be necessarily strangers. This it was that chiefly induced me to preserve such fragments as I could collect in relation to the life of Sir David Mitchell; who was promoted without envy, lived with universal reputation, and died with the character of an experienced seaman, and a worthy honest gentleman.

He was descended from a very reputable family in Scotland, though of small fortune; and at the age of sixteen, was put out apprentice to the master of a trading vessel who lived at Leith.* With him Mr. Mitchell continued seven years, and afterwards served as a mate on board several other ships, especially in northern voyages; by which he not only acquired great experience as a seaman, but also attained the knowledge of most modern languages; which, with his superiour skill in the mathematics, and other genteel accomplishments, recommended him to the favour of his officers, after he had been pressed to sea in the Dutch wars. At the revolution he was made a captain, and being remarkable for his thorough acquaintance with maritime affairs, and known to be firmly attached to that government, he was very soon distinguished and promoted; so that in April, 1693, he commanded the squadron that convoyed the king of Holland;† and having, by this means, an opportunity of conversing freely and frequently with his majesty, became much in his favour, that prince, the 8th of February preceding, having made him rear-admiral of the blue;‡ and not long

* Boyer's *Life of Queen Anne*, p. 53. *The Complete History of Europe*, for 1719, p. 30.

† *London Gazette*, No. 2858.

‡ *Ibid.* No. 2843.

after, appointed him one of the grooms of his bed-chamber. In 1694, Sir David Mitchell, being then a knight, and rear-admiral of the red, sailed with Admiral Russel into the Mediterranean; and on the admiral's return home, he was appointed to command in chief a squadron left in those seas; in the execution of which commission he behaved himself with great reputation; * and, in 1696, served under Sir George Rooke, with whom he lived in great friendship, † notwithstanding he owed his rise and fortunes, in some measure, to the kindness of Admiral Russell, in process of time earl of Orford.

I have already taken notice, in the former volume, that he brought over, and carried back, his czarish majesty, Peter the Great, emperor of Russia, who was so extremely pleased with the company of Sir David Mitchell, from whom, he often professed, he learned more of maritime affairs than from any other person whatever, that he offered him the highest preferments in Muscovy, if he would have accompanied him thither. But his proposal was not agreeable either to Sir David's circumstances or inclinations; for having, on the death of Sir Fleetwood Sheppard, been appointed gentleman-usher of the black rod, ‡ and having also his pay as a vice-admiral, he had no reason to quit the service of his native country, even to oblige so great a prince.

In his passage from Holland, his czarish majesty asked Admiral Mitchell, who gave satisfactory answers to all his maritime questions, the manner in use in the British navy, of correcting sailors who deserved punishment; when the admiral mentioning keel-hawling, among many others, that prince desired it might be explained to him, not by words, but by experiment; which the admiral excused, not having then an offender who deserved it. The

* Burehet's Naval History, p. 519.

† The Complete History of Europe, for 1710, p. 30.

‡ Annals of Queen Anne, vol. ix. p. 418.

czar replied, "Take one of my men;" but Sir David informed him, that all on board his ship were under the protection of the laws of England, and he was accountable for every man there, according to those laws; upon which that monarch persisted no farther in his request. * The king likewise directed Admiral Mitchell to wait on the czar to Portsmouth, and put the fleet out to sea which lay at Spithead, on purpose to entertain him with a mock engagement, which he had seen also in Holland, but not so much to his satisfaction; it affording his imperial majesty so great pleasure, that he declared he thought an English admiral a much happier man than a czar of Muscovy. †

His skill and conduct as a seaman, and his perfect acquaintance with every branch of naval affairs, rendered him extremely useful; as his polite behaviour made him agreeable to every administration. Upon the accession of Queen Anne, Sir David Mitchell was appointed one of the council ‡ to Prince George of Denmark, lord high-admiral; in which honourable office he continued till the year before the prince's death, when he was laid aside. But upon another change of affairs he was sent over to Holland, with a commission of great importance, which was to expostulate with their high mightinesses, about the deficiencies of their quotas during the continuance of the war, which commission he discharged with great honour. § This was the last public act of his life; for, soon after his return to England, he deceased, at his seat called Popes, in Hertfordshire, on the 1st of June, 1710, with as fair a reputation as any man of his rank and character could

* Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 167.

† The History of the Life of Peter I. Emperor of Russia, by John Motley, Esq. edit. 1740, 12mo. vol. i. p. 78.

‡ London Gazette, No. 3812.

§ See the inscription on his monument. London Gazette, No. 4089, 4095.

acquire, and lies buried in the parish church of Hatfield in the county before-mentioned. *

WE have now finished, not only the naval history, but the naval memoirs of this reign, by annexing the best accounts we could collect of those great men who served their country under the happy auspices of this illustrious princess. The few things that remain to be said, are of a miscellaneous nature; and are brought in here, because they relate to naval affairs, and so are connected with our history more than with any other; and are, at the same time, of too great importance to be suffered to sleep in oblivion, while it is in our power to save them.

Of all the reigns since the conquest, it may be truly said, that the British constitution never appeared with greater lustre, than under that of the queen; by which I mean, that the prerogative, or influence of the crown, was never less exerted than by Queen Anne and her ministers.

Thus, immediately after the peace of Utrecht, in order to shew the care and concern that was had for the trade of the nation, the commissioners appointed for taking and stating the public accounts, directed Dr. Charles D'Avenant, director-general of the exports and imports, to lay before them distinct annual accounts of the importations and exportations of all commodities into and out of this kingdom, which he accordingly did, with his own remarks and reflections; a thing of very great importance to the state, and a precedent worthy of imitation. Because, without such authentic grounds, it is simply impossible that any probable conjecture should be made as to the growth or decay of our commerce in general, or how far it is, or is not, affected by the encouragement or discouragement

* The Complete History of Europe, for 1710. Pointer's Chronological Historian, vol. ii. p. 673. Le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, p. 128, 208.

of particular branches; which, however, are points of great importance to every government, and without a competent knowledge of which, no ministry can ever make a figure, or any parliament be able to decide with certainty, as to those points which are of the greatest consequence to their constituents. *

At the close of that work, Dr. D'Avenant enters largely into the advantages that might be made by a trade carried on directly into the South-seas, and that in terms which shew plainly, the commerce of this company was not, even in a commercial sense, so visionary a thing as the enemies of the lord high-treasurer Oxford, its patron, pretended; for he there says plainly, that this company might extend the trade of the nation by vending its commodities and manufactures in unknown countries, and gives his reasons why he so thought. I must confess, that I never understood the scope of this great man's reasoning upon that subject till I read a book lately published by Mr. Dobbs, wherein he has shewn, with great public spirit, how this may be done; either by discovering a north-west passage into those seas, and fixing colonies in the countries beyond California; or, by prosecuting those discoveries that have been already made by the Dutch, and some of our own navigators, in respect of the Terra Australis, through the Straits of Magellan, either of which would open to us a new commerce, infinitely more advantageous than that of Spain to her Indies. Because, these new discovered countries are so situated, as that their inhabitants must stand in want of our goods, at the same time that they stand possessed of gold, silver, spices, and other rich commodities, which must come to us in return;

* This report consists of two parts, both printed in 1712, 8vo. and shew many received opinions, in regard to the general commerce, not to have been founded in facts, but rather in conjectures, and sometimes influenced by party prejudices. The matters mentioned in the text, are to be met with in the first report, p. 74, 75, 76, 77.

and therefore Dr. D'Avenant had great reason to suggest, that the new South-sea might prove as beneficial to Britain as her old East India Company. This very discourse of his, being addressed to the commissioners for taking and stating accounts, is the clearest demonstration, that, when the South-sea company was erected, there was a prospect of these advantages; and that, with a view to these, the powers of the company were rendered so extensive, and their capital made so large.

If this have not hitherto been done, still however it may be done, since the same powers remain vested in the company by their charter; and it is the more reasonable, that something of this sort should be attempted, because the Assiento contract is now given up. Besides, if we are able to settle any new colonies in that part of the globe, we should be able to trade with the Spaniards without an Assiento, and secure to ourselves such a proportion of commerce as might perhaps equal all that we now possess. But, if it should be found, that, notwithstanding these extensive powers, the company is either not inclined, or disabled to carry on such a new trade, then I humbly think it will be high time for the legislature to transfer those powers to some other body-corporate, that may be able and willing to exert them, and this with such clauses of emendation or restriction, as the experience we have since had of the management of public companies shall suggest to be either necessary or expedient. †

In the same report by Dr. D'Avenant, there are several other curious remarks on almost all the branches of our commerce; and if such a general state of trade as this

* An account of the countries adjoining to Hudson's bay in the north west part of America, &c. by Arthur Dobbs, Esq. London, 1744, 4to. p. 166—169.

† The rectitude of granting and continuing an exclusive trade to any company has been warmly disputed; but surely the impropriety of continuing exclusive powers to a company, that carries on no commerce, will not admit of any dispute at all.

were to be laid before the parliament, once at least in every reign, we should then be able to judge both of the efficacy of the laws already made, and of the usefulness and expediency of new ones. But it is now time to return from this digression, into which I was led by the desire of preserving a hint which seems so very capable of improvement, to the last acts of the queen's government and life, with which I shall conclude this chapter.

The treaty of Utrecht, which put an end to our disputes abroad, proved the cause of high debates and great distractions at home. The people grew uneasy, the ministry divided, and the heats and violence of party rose to such a height, that her majesty found herself so embarrassed, as not to be able either to depend upon those in power, or venture to turn them out. The uneasiness of mind, that such a perplexed situation of affairs occasioned, had a very bad effect upon her health, which had been in a declining condition from the time of Prince George's death; and this weakness served to encrease those disorders in her government, which were so grievous to herself, and so detrimental to her subjects. For her ministers, forgetting their duty to her and their regard for their country, consulted only their ambition and their private views; so that, whenever they met in council, they studied rather to cross each others proposals, than to settle or pursue any regular plan; and to such a monstrous extravagance these jealousies rose at last, that it is believed a quarrel between two of her principal ministers, in her presence, proved, in some measure, the cause of her death. *

For being at Kensington, to which she had removed from Windsor, she was seized on the 29th of July, with a drowsiness and sinking of her spirits; and the next day, about seven in the morning, was struck with an apoplexy,

* *Memoirs of the Four Last Years of the Reign of Queen Anne.*

and from that time continued in a dying condition. About three in the afternoon she was sensible, and at the request of the privy council, declared the duke of Shrewsbury lord high-treasurer of Great Britain, though he was already lord-chamberlain, and lord-lieutenant of Ireland. This was the last act of her administration; for the council now took upon themselves the direction of public affairs, appointing the earl of Berkeley to hoist his flag on board the fleet, and sending General Whitham to take the command in Scotland, and likewise despatched orders for the immediate embarkation of seven British battalions from Flanders. In the mean time, the queen continued in the hands of her physicians and domestics, some of whom flattered themselves with false hopes to the last; but, the blisters not rising, her majesty about seven in the morning, on the 1st of August, 1714, breathed her last. * The following character I have taken from a history of her reign in MS. which now, in all probability, will never be printed.

ANNE STUART, daughter to James II. king of England, &c. was born at St. James's, February 6, 1664-5, at thirty-nine minutes past eleven at night. She was tenderly and carefully educated; and, having from nature the most valuable gifts, she became a very accomplished princess. She was moderately tall, and well proportioned, her complexion and shape excellent, till her constitution was impaired by grief and sickness. She appeared to best advantage speaking; for she had a clear harmonious voice, great good sense, and a very happy elocution. Her piety was unaffected; her humility sincere; her good-nature very conspicuous, but would have been more so, had it not been inherent in her family. As a wife, she was the pattern of conjugal fidelity, without any affecta-

* Lamberti, tom. viii. p. 657, 658, where there is a very curious and circumstantial account of her majesty's behaviour in her last moments.

tion of fondness. Her tenderness, as a mother, to her children, was regulated by the rules of reason and religion; but her indulgence, as the mother of her subjects, knew no bounds. It was her only foible, that the uprightness of her own intentions left her without suspicion. Her affection for her people was so apparent, that it was never doubted, and so firmly rooted, as to be discernable in her last words. With a just sense of her own high dignity, she had a true concern for the rights of her subjects, and a strong passion for the glory of the nation; she loved public spirit, and encouraged it; and, though she was naturally magnificent and generous, yet she was frugal in her private expenses, not to hoard, but to bestow on the necessities of the state. She gave her tenths to the clergy, which will remain a lasting monument of her zeal for the church. The many good laws, and the numerous happy events which fell out in her reign, will ever preserve her memory in esteem with those who wish well to the state. In a word, she was blessed with all the endowments that could make a woman admired, and exerted all the virtues necessary to make a monarch beloved. At her death, her loss was thought irretrievable, and few who remember her have altered their opinions. It would be improper to say more, and ingratitude to have said less.

Her majesty had issue by the prince of Denmark:—

1. A daughter, that was still-born, the 12th of May, 1684.
2. Lady Mary, a second daughter, born the 2d of June, 1685, and died in February, 1690.
3. Anne Sophia, who was born the 12th of May, 1686, and died the February following.
4. William, duke of Gloucester, born the 24th of July, 1689, who lived to be eleven years of age.
5. The Lady Mary, born October, 1690, who lived no longer than to be baptized.
6. George, another son, who died also soon after he was born.

ABSTRACT OF THE ROYAL NAVY, AS IT STOOD AT
THE DEATH OF THE QUEEN.

RATES.	NUMBLR.	GUNS.	MLN.
I.	7	714	5312
II.	13	1170	7194
III.	39	2890	16,089
IV.	66	3490	16,058
V.	32	1190	4160
VI.	25	500	1047
	<hr/> 132	<hr/> 9954	<hr/> 49,860
Fire-ships, &c. } about	50		

CHAP. II.

Containing the Naval History of Great Britain, from the Accession of King George I. to the Time of his Demise.

WE are now to enter on a new period of time; and a great change in our government; brought about by a statute made in the twelfth year of King William III. for limiting the succession of the crown; by which, after the death of the queen, then Princess Anne, without issue, it was to pass to the most illustrious house of Hanover, as the next Protestant heirs. For the Princess Sophia, electress-dowager of Hanover, was daughter to the queen of Bohemia, who, before her marriage with the elector Palatine, was styled the Princess Elizabeth of Great Britain, daughter to James VI. of Scotland, and I. of England; * in whom united all the hereditary claims to the imperial crown of these realms.

But the Princess Sophia dying a very little while before the queen, George Lewis, elector of Hanover, her son, became heir of this crown on the demise of Queen Anne, and was accordingly called to the succession, in the manner directed by another statute, passed in the fourth year of her majesty's reign. †

For, by that law, the administration of the government, immediately on the queen's death, devolved on seven persons named in the act, in conjunction with as many as the successor should think fit to appoint, in the manner directed by that law. ‡

* Stat. 12 William III. cap. ii. sec. 1.

† See Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 431—434.

‡ It may not be amiss to remark, that the electorate was created in 1692, in favour of Duke Ernest Augustus of Hanover, his majesty's

The seven justices fixed by the statute were, the archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Thomas Tennison; the lord high-chancellor, Simon, Lord Harcourt; the lord-president of the council, John, duke of Buckinghamshire; the lord high-treasurer, Charles, duke of Shrewsbury; the lord privy-seal, William, earl of Dartmouth; first lord-commissioner of the admiralty, Thomas, earl of Strafford; and lord chief-justice of the king's bench, Sir Thomas Parker. The lords justices appointed by the successor were, the lord archbishop of York, Sir William Dawes; the dukes of Shrewsbury, Somerset, Bolton, Devonshire, Kent, Argyle, Montrose, and Roxborough; the earls of Pembroke, Anglesea, Carlisle, Nottingham, Abingdon, Scarborough, and Orford; the Lord Viscount Townshend; and the lords Halifax and Cowper. *

These lords justices, the same day the queen died, issued a proclamation, declaring the accession of King George I. and commanding him to be proclaimed through all parts of the kingdom; which was done accordingly. On the next day they sent the earl of Dorset to his majesty, to invite him over; and on the 3d of August the lord high-chancellor, in the name of the lords justices, opened the session of parliament by a speech. † On the 17th of the same month, the earl of Berkeley sailed with a squadron of sixteen men-of-war, and six yachts, for Holland, in order to attend his majesty, where he was joined by eight ships of the States-general, under Rear-admiral Coperen; and, to secure the coasts and the channel, Admiral Wager was sent down to Portsmouth, and Sir

father, who, in 1698, was succeeded by this monarch in that quality his mother the Princess Sophia, being styled electress dowager, who deceased at the age of eighty-four, June 8, 1714, N. S.

* Lamberti, tom. viii. p. 659, where there are various remarkable particulars.

† Oldmixon's History of England, vol. ii. p. 563, 564. Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 393, 394. Annals of King George, vol. i. p. 34, 35.

Thomas Hardy to Plymouth, to equip such ships as were fit for service. *

His majesty arriving from Holland on the 18th of September, and making his public entry on the 20th, took the reins of government into his own hands; and very soon made some considerable alterations in the several boards; particularly in that of the admiralty, which was clean swept. For, instead of Thomas, earl of Strafford, Sir John Leake, Sir William Drake, John Aislabie, Esq. Sir James Wishart, and Dr. John Clarke, who were there on the demise of the late queen, his majesty appointed Edward, earl of Orford, Sir George Byng, George Dodington, Esq. Sir John Jennings, Sir Charles Turner, Abraham Stanyan, and George Baillie, Esqrs. † In the month of November, Matthew Aylmer, Esq. was declared admiral and commander-in-chief of his majesty's fleet; and, soon after, Sir Charles Wager, rear-admiral of the red, was sent to relieve Sir James Wishart in the Mediterranean. ‡

The subject of this work obliges me only to take notice of such acts of the new government as relate to naval affairs; and therefore, after observing that a new parlia-

A. D.
1715.

* Lediard's Naval History, vol. ii. p. 866.

† Oldmixon's History of England, vol. ii. p. 576. Annals of King George, vol. i. p. 237. Historical Register, vol. ii. p. 12, in the Appendix.

‡ In order to render the subsequent history more clear, it will be requisite to give the reader a short state of the commands in the navy, at the accession of King George I.

Sir John Leake, Knight, rear-admiral of Great Britain.

Matthew Aylmer, Esq. admiral and commander-in-chief of his majesty's fleet.

Sir James Wishart, Knight. admiral of the white squadron.

Sir John Norris, Knight, admiral of the blue.

James, earl of Berkeley, vice-admiral of the red.

Sir Edward Whitaker, Knight, vice-admiral of the white.

John Baker, Esq. vice-admiral of the blue.

Sir Charles Wager, Knight, rear-admiral of the red.

Sir Hovenden Walker, rear-admiral of the white.

Sir Thomas Hardy, Knight, rear-admiral of the blue.

ment was summoned, and met at Westminster, March the 17th, the next thing that occurs is, that, on the 1st of April, 1715, they came to a resolution to allow ten thousand seamen, at four pounds a month; and, on the 9th of May following, granted thirty-five thousand five hundred seventy-four pounds three shillings and sixpence for the half-pay of sea officers; one hundred ninety-seven thousand eight hundred ninety-six pounds seventeen shillings and sixpence, for the ordinary of the navy; and two hundred thirty-seven thousand two hundred and seventy-seven pounds for the extraordinary repairs of the navy, and rebuilding of ships. These large sums were thought necessary, because, at this juncture, the fleet of Great Britain was very much decayed; and it was foreseen, that, notwithstanding the peace so lately concluded, new disputes were likely to arise, which might require fresh armaments. *

Among these disputes, the most serious was that in which we were engaged with Sweden. This had begun before the queen's death, and was occasioned by the Swedish privateers taking many of our ships, which, with their cargoes, were confiscated, under a pretence that we assisted and supplied the czar and his subjects with ships, arms, ammunition, &c. contrary, as was suggested, to our treaties with the crown of Sweden. Mr. Jackson, her majesty's minister at Stockholm, had presented several memorials upon this subject, without receiving any satisfactory answer; and therefore it was now thought expedient to make use of more effectual means, *viz.* sending a strong squadron of men-of-war into the Baltic, the rather because their high mightinesses the States-general, labouring under the same inconveniencies, found themselves obliged, after all pacific methods had been tried in

* Annals of King George, vol. i. p. 415. Historical Register, vol. i. p. 143.

vain, to have recourse to the same measures, in order to protect the commerce of their subjects. *

This once resolved, a squadron of twenty sail was appointed for this service, and the command given to Sir John Norris, who was then admiral of the blue, and who had Sir Thomas Hardy, rear-admiral of the same squadron, to assist him. † The admiral hoisted his flag on board the Cumberland, a third-rate, having ten ships of the line in his division. Sir Thomas Hardy was in the Norfolk, a third-rate also, and had in his division eight ships of the line, the Mermaid frigate of thirty-two guns, and the Drake sloop, which carried sixteen. This fleet sailed from the Nore on the 18th of May, ‡ and arrived in the Sound on the 10th of June § following; where finding the Dutch squadron, a conference was held on board the Cumberland on the 14th, in which it was resolved, that the combined squadron should proceed together, with the English and Dutch merchantmen under their convoy, for their respective ports; which they performed accordingly by the close of the month. ||

One of the first things Sir John Norris did, was to despatch an express to the court of Stockholm, in order to be satisfied whether the Swedes were resolved to go on in their practice of seizing and confiscating our ships; or whether, before it was too late, they would consent to enter into a negociation for determining the disputes which had arisen between the two nations. The answer he received was so loose and uncertain, that he resolved to proceed according to his instructions. After Sir John's

* Lamberti, tom. viii. p. 815, where the matter is treated at large.

† When the commerce of Britain suffers, a British fleet is the quickest and most effectual remedy that can be applied.

‡ Oldmixon's History of England, vol. ii. p. 595. Annals of King George, vol. i. p. 429. Salmon's Chronological Historian, vol. ii. p. 48.

§ *Mercurie Historique et Politique*, tom. lxi. p. 40.

|| These admirals were sent to protect our trade, and they paid due regard to their instructions.

departure from Copenhagen, there arrived, under the convoy of two British men-of-war, forty-six merchant ships, that were not ready to sail from England with Sir John Norris. These ships remained till the Danish fleet was ready to sail, in order to take the advantage of their convoy. About the middle of the month of August, the Danish fleet, consisting of twenty ships of the line, with the Russian squadron, resolved to sail up the Baltic with the English and Dutch. *

As the czar of Muscovy was at this time at Copenhagen, and designed to command his own ships, several consultations were held to regulate the command of the several squadrons of different nations then in that road, which together were called the confederate fleet. It was at last resolved to give the chief command of it to the czar of Muscovy; but so, that Sir John Norris should command the van-guard of the united fleet; the czar the body of the line of battle; the Danish admiral, Count Gueldenlew, the rear; and that the Dutch commodore, with his squadron and five British men-of-war, should proceed with the trade of both nations for their respective harbours in the Baltic. According to this resolution, on the 16th, the czar hoisted his imperial flag, as admiral, on board one of his finest ships, and was thereupon immediately saluted by Sir John Norris with a discharge of his cannon, which was followed by the Danish and Dutch; and, these compliments being paid, his czarian majesty gave the signal for sailing. On the 18th, they came to an anchor in the Kieger-Bucht, whence they sailed towards Bornholm, where, being informed that the Swedish fleet was returned to Carlsroon, † the British and Dutch merchant ships,

* Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 413. Annals of King George, vol. iii. p. 105.

† Lediard's Naval History, vol. ii. p. 869. *Mesure Historique et Politique*, tom. lxi. p. 261. Gordon's Life of Peter the Great, vol. ii. p. 77.

with their convoys, separated, and proceeded on their respective voyages; and the czar, with his squadron, sailed for the coast of Mecklenburg. *

The Swedes had at this time a very numerous fleet, and in pretty good condition; but they were too wise to hazard it against such an unequal force as that of the confederates, and therefore withdrew it into one of their own ports, till they could receive the king's absolute orders. On the 28th of October, Sir John Norris, with the British squadron under his command, and the Danish men-of-war commanded by Count Gueldenlew, arrived at Bornholm, on which day the two cruizers, which Sir John Norris had sent to Carlsroon, returned to him with an account, that they had seen the Swedish fleet, with two flags and seven broad pendants, in Carlsroon, and all the ships they could discover lay rigged, as also that they had three cruizers under sail off the port. That night Sir John Norris sent these two cruizers, being the best sailers of his squadron, to Dantzic, to hasten the trade down the Baltic; and, if they found the six British men-of-war and all the merchantmen had joined there, to order the commodore not to lose a moment that could be made use of for sailing, but to proceed. These cruizers arrived at Dantzic on the 30th, where they joined the British men-of-war, and the trade, which on the 31st all sailed from Dantzic. †

On the 9th of November, the British men-of-war, with the trade, joined Sir John Norris's squadron at Bornholm, having sailed from the fleet off Dantzic on the 4th of this month, and the next day came all with him into the road of Copenhagen. On the 12th, arrived the Dutch trade with their convoy, which had been obliged to stay after ours

* Lamberti, tom. ix. p. 620, where the political motives of this measure are copiously discussed.

† Voltaire, *Histoire de Charles XII. Roi de Suede*, liv. vii. where these disputes are treated very superficially.

at Dantzic for provisions. A few days after, Sir John sailed from the road of Copenhagen; and, notwithstanding his fleet, as well as the merchantmen under his convoy, were surprised by a violent storm, which dispersed them, and in which the August of sixty guns, and the Garland of twenty-four, were unfortunately lost; yet the rest, with all the trade, safely arrived at the Trow on the 29th of November in the morning. Sir John Norris left seven ships of war, under the command of Commodore Cleeland, in the Baltic, to act in conjunction with the Danes, and for the farther security of the British trade, if necessary.* Thus I have prosecuted the history of this Baltic expedition, from the sailing to the return of the fleet, that the reader might the better apprehend it: and now I ought to recur to the proceedings of our fleets in the channel, but that it seems requisite to clear up some points relating to this Baltic expedition, which have of late been the subject of high disputes.

The great point in question as to the Swedish expedition is, whether it took rise from our own concerns, or from those of the electorate of Hanover. On the one hand, it is very certain, that the Swedish privateers took our ships as well as those of other nations, and that, in fitting our fleet for those seas, we did no more than the Dutch. On the arrival of Sir John Norris in the Baltic, our minister presented a memorial, in which he set forth the particular damages sustained by our merchants, amounting to sixty-nine thousand twenty-four pounds two shillings and nine-pence, for which he demanded satisfaction; and, at the same time, insisted on the repeal of an edict, which his Swedish majesty had lately published, and by which the commerce of the Baltic was wholly prohibited to the English. This memorial was presented

* Lediard's Naval History, vol. ii. p. 870. Annals of King George, vol. iii. p. 107. Mercure Historique et Politique, tom. lxi. p. 616, 617.

June 15, 1715, and in it the nature of Sir John Norris's commission was explained; so that, thus far, all this quarrel seems to arise from his majesty's care of the British commerce. *

But, as elector of Hanover, he had also some disputes with his majesty of Sweden, of quite a different nature. For having purchased from the crown of Denmark the duchies of Bremen and Verden, which had been taken from the crown of Sweden, he found himself obliged, in quality of elector, to concur with the first-mentioned power in declaring war against Sweden; and, even before this was done, some English ships joined the Danish fleet, in order to distress the Swedes. Of this the Swedish minister here complained by a memorial delivered to Lord Townshend, then secretary of state, dated October 3, 1715. His Swedish majesty also, in answer to the Hanoverian declaration of war, published some very severe reflections, in which he asserts, that the honour of the British flag had been prostituted to serve the interests of another state, and in order to create an intercourse between the king's regal and electoral dominions. † Thus far I have given the evidence on both sides, and leave the whole to the determination of the reader, with this observation only, that the Dutch, though no less injured, no less concerned in their trade than we, did not, however, think it necessary to come to such extremities.

While this squadron was employed in the Baltic, the rebellion was extinguished in Scotland, but with so little assistance from our naval force, that it scarcely deserves to be mentioned. It is true, Sir George Byng was sent to hoist his flag in the Downs in the middle of summer,

A.D.
1715.

* Lamberti, tom ix. p. 251. Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 423. Historical Register, for the year 1716, p. 525.

† Lamberti, tom. ix. p. 301. Historical Register, for 1716, p. 15. Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. Oldmixon, vol. ii. and other writers.

and continued there as long as the season would permit; * but no enemy appeared, and Sir John Jennings was sent to Edinburgh, whence he went on board the Oxford in the Frith, and hoisted his flag as commander-in-chief of the squadron then upon the coasts, which would have been highly serviceable in case the pretender's adherents had either had any naval force, or had been succoured from beyond the seas: but there was nothing of this kind. The rebellion broke out under the influence and direction of the earl of Mar, who was soon joined by the clans; and, the duke of Argyll being sent down against him, it quickly appeared how ill their measures had been taken. His grace had indeed but a small number of regular troops under his command; but his interest was so extensive, that he not only engaged many powerful families to declare for King George; but, which perhaps was the greater service of the two, engaged many more to remain quiet, who otherwise had joined the rebels. The business was decided by the battle of Sheriff Muir, near Dunblain, fought November 13, 1715, † the same day that General Foster, and the English who were in arms, surrendered at Preston. Yet, after this, the Chevalier de St. George ventured over into Scotland in a very poor vessel, where soon finding his affairs desperate, and his person in the utmost danger, he contrived to make his escape from the north with the utmost secrecy; which he effected by going on board a clean-tallow'd French snow, which sailed out of the harbour of Montrose, ‡ February the 3d, in sight of some English men-of-war, but kept so close along shore, that they soon found it was impossible to follow her.

* Lediard's Naval History, vol. ii. p. 867. Annals of King George, vol. ii. p. 3. Salmon's Chronological Historian, vol. ii. p. 50.

† Oldmixon's History of England, vol. ii. p. 621. Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 459. Historical Register, for 1716, p. 108, 109. Mercure Historique et Politique, tom. lix. p. 671.

‡ Annals of King George, vol. ii. p. 230. Historical Register, for 1716, p. 115. Mercure Historique et Politique, tom. lx. p. 353.

These were the principal transactions of this year, at the close of which things were still in such confusion, that the parliament thought fit to grant very large supplies for the ensuing year, *viz.* ten thousand seamen at the rate of four pounds per month, the sums of two hundred and thirty-three thousand eight hundred and forty-nine pounds nineteen shillings and six-pence for the ordinary of the navy, and two hundred and thirty thousand six hundred and twenty-three pounds for the extraordinary repairs of the navy. * We have already taken notice of what passed under Sir John Norris in the *Baltic*, and have therefore only to observe, that this year some of the piratical republics in *Barbary* having broken the peace, Admiral Baker, who had the command of the English squadron in the Mediterranean, received orders to bring them to reason, which he did without any great difficulty. But the Salee rovers still did a great deal of mischief, and it was the more difficult to suppress them, because their ships were so small, and drew so little water, that our men-of-war were very seldom able to come near enough to exchange shot with them. At last Captain Delgarno, one of the most active officers in the navy, in his majesty's ship the *Hind*, of twenty guns only, came up with one of their best men-of-war of twenty-four guns, and, after an obstinate engagement of two hours and a half, obliged her to strike; but she had not been in his possession above a quarter of an hour before she sunk, and all her crew, except thirty-eight hands, perished. This, with the loss of another vessel of eight guns, and two more of sixteen guns each, which were forced on shore by his majesty's ship the *Bridgewater*, delivered, in a great measure, the English commerce in the Mediterranean from the interruption given by these pirates. †

In the month of July, his majesty went over to Holland, escorted by an English squadron, and from thence con-

A.D.
1716.

tinued his journey by land to Hanover, where the disturbances in the north made his presence at that time particularly necessary; and where he continued the rest of the year 1716, at the close of which Admiral Aylmer sailed with his squadron for Holland to escort him home.* In the mean time, the government was employed in extinguishing the remains of the rebellion here and in Scotland, and providing, in the best manner they could, against the revival of such disturbances; of which they had the greater hopes from the conduct which the regent of France pursued, who shewed a strong inclination to live upon good terms with Great Britain, as was indeed his interest.† But it very soon appeared, that, notwithstanding the chevalier's adherents had lost their hopes with respect of succours from France, they had still another power willing and ready to assist them.

A. D. 1717. Upon his majesty's return a dangerous conspiracy was said to be discovered, in which many were engaged at home and abroad, and for defeating of which it was thought necessary to secure the person and papers of Count Gyllenbourg,‡ then his Swedish majesty's ambassador at this court, and who at the time of his death was prime minister of that kingdom; a fact which struck the foreign ministers here with the utmost surprise, from which, however, they quickly recovered themselves, when they were informed, that it was not for any act of his ministry, but for his being concerned in the management of a plot against the government.§ About the same time the

* Historical Register, for 1716, p. 355. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. lxii. p. 221.

† Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 503. *Annals of King George*, vol. iii. p. 109.

‡ Oldmixon's History of England, vol. ii. p. 630. Salmon's Chronological Historian, vol. ii. p. 69. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. lxii. p. 224.

§ See Mr. Secretary Stanhope's letter to the foreign ministers, then residing in England, in the Historical Register, for the year 1717, p. 67.

famous Baron Goertz* was, at his Britannic majesty's request, arrested in Holland, where he acted as minister from the king of Sweden. In order to satisfy the world, the letters and papers relating to the invasion, which it was said his Swedish majesty intended to have made in Scotland, were rendered public,† and the parliament soon after shewed the warmest resentment at the insolence of this attempt.

It was indeed amazing, that a prince, already overwhelmed by so many and so powerful enemies, should think of adding to their number by practices of this kind: but whoever considers the genius and spirit of the late Charles XII. will easily conceive, that it was natural enough for him to embrace any expedient, how dangerous soever, which seemed to promise the dissolving that confederacy by which he was distressed. But his design was not only rendered abortive by this unexpected discovery, which put it absolutely out of his power to carry it into execution; but it likewise brought upon him new difficulties, in consequence of his Britannic majesty's resentment of such behaviour, which presently discovered itself by the vigorous resolutions taken here; for, on the 21st of February, it was resolved in the house of commons, "That a bill be brought in to authorise his majesty to prohibit commerce with Sweden, during such a time as his majesty shall think it necessary, for the safety and peace of his kingdom;" which afterwards passed both houses, and had the royal assent; and, on the 2d of March, a proclamation was published for this purpose. ‡

As it was foreseen that this affair must necessarily occasion the sending another squadron to the Baltic, the neces-

* Annals of King George, vol. iii. p. 141.

† Historical Register, for 1717, p. 71. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. lxii. p. 341.

‡ Chandler's Debates, vol. vi. p. 109. Historical Register, for 1717. p. 170.

sary supplies were very early granted, *viz.* ten thousand seamen for the service of the year 1717; two hundred and twenty-six thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine pounds five shillings and three-pence for the ordinary of the navy, and two hundred thousand seven hundred and sixty-one pounds for the extraordinary repairs, and for the furnishing such sea-stores as might be necessary.* Immediately after, orders were issued for forming a grand squadron, consisting of twenty-one ships of the line, besides frigates, for the Baltic, the command of which was given to Sir George Byng, who was to have had two admirals under him, with an additional force; but, before those ships were ready, the ministry altered their design; and Sir George, in obedience to fresh orders, sailed on the 30th of March for Copenhagen. †

Whatever necessity there might be for these vigorous measures, yet it is certain, that this necessity did not so fully appear to many who were hitherto supposed as penetrating politicians as any in this kingdom; and therefore an opposition was created where it was least expected, I mean by some who had the honour to be in the king's councils, which, however did not hinder them from expressing their sentiments with a British freedom. Their arguments, however, had so little weight, that, as soon as Sir George Byng had sailed, some of the great ministers prevailed upon his majesty to send, on the 3d of April, 1717, a message to the house of commons to this effect: "That, being desirous to secure his kingdoms against the present dangers with which they were threatened from Sweden, he hoped they would enable him to make good such engagements as might ease his people of all future charge and apprehensions upon this account." ‡

* Annals of King George, vol. iii. p. 152. Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. Historical Register, for 1717, p. 123.

† Oldmixon's History of England, vol. ii. p. 636. Historical Register, for 1717, p. 73. Columna Rostrata, p. 300.

‡ Chandler's Debates, vol. vi. p. 115.

This occasioned warm debates in the house, it being said, that the demanding a supply, without communicating the particular uses to which it was to be appropriated, was unparliamentary; and even Mr. Walpole, afterwards created earl of Orford, and Mr. Speaker, appear to be against it. However, it was at length carried in the committee, by one hundred and sixty-four to one hundred and forty-nine. "That it was the opinion of the committee, "that a sum not exceeding two hundred and fifty thousand pounds be granted to his majesty, to concert such "measures with foreign princes and states as may prevent "any charge and apprehension from the designs of "Sweden for the future." When the question for agreeing with the committee was put in the house, it was carried but by four voices, *viz.* yeas one hundred and fifty-three, noes one hundred and forty-nine. *

The next morning Mr. Secretary Stanhope let the lord Townshend know, that his majesty had no farther occasion for his service, as lord-lieutenant of Ireland: whereupon Mr. Walpole, who was then first commissioner of the treasury, Mr. Methuen secretary of state, and Mr. Pulteney secretary at war, laid down their employments. † A few days after, Edward, (Russel) earl of Orford, resigned his office of first lord of the admiralty; upon which his majesty thought proper to change that board, and accordingly, James, earl of Berkely, Matthew Aylmer, Esq. Sir George Byng, James Cockburn, and William Chetwynd, Esqrs. were made lords commissioners of the admiralty. ‡

It was necessary to take notice of these domestic proceedings, before we followed Sir George Byng with his fleet into the Baltic; where so little was performed, that

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1717.

* Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 521. Annals of King George, vol. iii. p. 162. Historical Register, for 1717, p. 153.

† Oldmixon's History of England, vol. ii. p. 639.

‡ Annals of King George, vol. iii. p. 169. Salmon's Chronological Historian, vol. ii. p. 71.

it is not easy to give the reader any tolerable satisfaction about it. On the 11th of April, Sir George arrived in the road of Copenhagen; the next day he had an audience of the king of Denmark, and assisted at several conferences, which were held in the succeeding week, in order to settle the operations by sea, and the command of the confederate fleet, in case it should be thought requisite for the several squadrons to join.* Sir George next detached five ships of the line to cruize in the Categat, between Gottenburgh and the point of Schagen, to cover the trade from the Swedish privateers. The Danish cruizers being likewise employed for the same purpose, the passage was so effectually secured, that no ships could pass out of that port. Sir George himself waited only for a fair wind to sail with the rest of the British squadron into the Baltic, where the Swedes, however, had by this time absolutely laid aside whatever designs were formed, either to our prejudice or against the general peace of Europe.

On the 7th of May, however, our admiral sailed from Copenhagen, having under his convoy a great number of merchant ships, bound for several parts of the Baltic, and in the Kiøgerbucht was joined by the Danish fleet, commanded by Vice-admiral Gabel: they sailed together towards Carlsroon; but were obliged by contrary winds to return. As no enemy appeared, and the season of the year began to advance, Sir George Byng thought of coming home with the fleet; and accordingly, on the 2d of November, past the Sound † with nine English men-of-war, three frigates, and three vessels of small burden, leaving behind him six men-of-war, to act in conjunction with the Danish fleet; and on the 15th of the same month arrived safe at the mouth of the Thames; there leaving

* Lediard's Naval History, vol. ii. p. 871. Annals of King George, vol. iii. p. 317. *Mercur Historique et Politique*, tom. lxii. p. 507.

† Lediard's Naval History, vol. ii. p. 872. Annals of King George, vol. iv. p. 63. *Mercur Historique et Politique*, tom. lxiii. p. 689.

his squadron, he came up to London, where he was graciously received by his majesty. So that here ended the naval expedition for this year, and with it, in a great measure, all the apprehensions the nation was under from the Swedes.*

In the mean time his majesty had thought fit to appoint Sir John Norris envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the czar of Muscovy;† and, as if things began to be so disposed as to admit of a peace in the north, a resolution was taken to discharge Count Gyllenbourg, which was thus brought about. His royal highness the duke of Orleans ordered the French minister here‡ to acquaint the king, that his royal highness was perfectly well informed as to the king of Sweden's disposition, and that he was thoroughly satisfied, that his Swedish majesty had

* To quiet the minds of the people, and prevent their running into a notion that the fitting out this fleet was not really intended for the honour and service of Great Britain, the following account was published in the Gazette.

Admiralty-office, June 28.

"Captain Lestock of the Panther, who commands the ships appointed by Sir George Byng to cruize off Gottenburgh, gives an account by his letter, dated the 13th of last month, that on the 27th of April he sailed out of Marde in Norway, and three days after took a Swedish privateer-dogger of six guns and seventy-two men, commanded by one St. Leger, the person who some time since seized one of our packet-boats. That the same afternoon he retook a Dutch hoy, which had been taken the day before by a Swedish ship of ten guns; and on the 1st of May, in the afternoon, he met and took the privateer into whose hands the hoy had fallen; all which prizes were carried into Arundel; and that, the 9th at night, the Strafford retook a Dutch fly-boat. By another letter from Captain Lestock, dated the 26th of May, he gave an account, that his majesty's ship the Severn had taken a pirate, and retaken a Dutch fly-boat; that the Chatham had taken two Swedish privateers; and that, on the 15th of the said month of May, our ships took a Swedish brigantine of eight guns and twenty-six men."

† Historical Register, for 1717, p. 29.

‡ Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 540. Oldmixon's History of England, vol. ii. p. 649. Annals of King George, vol. iii. p. 320.

not, or ever had, any intention to disturb the tranquillity of his Britannic majesty's dominions; that if, therefore, his ministers had entered into any practices of that kind, it was entirely without his knowledge; and that, upon their return to Sweden, he would cause a strict inquiry to be made into their conduct, in order to punish them, if they should be proved guilty.* Upon this proposition from the regent of France, it was agreed, that Count Gyllenbourg should be exchanged against Mr. Jackson, the English minister at Stockholm, and that Baron Goertz should be released from his confinement in Holland, which was accordingly performed. Yet the storm did not entirely blow over; but the Swedish quarrel still proved a source of new expense to the British nation.†

A.D. 1717. The ministry, to shew that their thoughts were not wholly taken up by these disputes in the north, framed at this time a very just and laudable design of suppressing the pirates in the West Indies, who, since the close of the late war, were become very numerous and highly insolent. And to give the public a just idea of their care in this respect, they caused an order of council, dated the 15th of September, 1717, to be published, to the effect following, *viz.* "That complaint having been made to his majesty by great numbers of merchants, masters of ships, and others, as well as by the several governors of his majesty's islands and plantations in the West Indies, that the pirates are grown so numerous, that they infest not only the seas of Jamaica, but even those of the northern continent of America; and that unless some effectual means be used, the whole trade from Great

* *Voltaire Histoire de Charles XII. Roi de Suede*, lib. viii. where he says, they were released without his Swedish majesty's deigning to give the king of Britain the smallest satisfaction. Yet he acknowledges the principal point the czar carried, while in France, was engaging the duke regent to interest himself in this affair.

† *Historical Register*, for 1717, p. 25. *Mercur Historique et Politique*, tom. lxxiii. p. 356.

“ Britain in those parts will not only be obstructed, but
“ be in imminent danger of being lost; his majesty has,
“ upon mature deliberation in council, been graciously
“ pleased, in the first place, to order a proper force to
“ be employed for suppressing the said piracies; and, that
“ nothing may be wanting for the more effectual putting
“ an end to the said piracies, his majesty had also been
“ graciously pleased to issue a proclamation, dated the
“ 5th instant. And, whereas it hath also been repre-
“ sented to his majesty, that the house of lords had
“ addressed her late majesty on this account, particularly
“ with respect to the Bahama islands; but that there were
“ not any means used, in compliance with that address,
“ for securing the said Bahama islands; and that, at this
“ time, the pirates have a lodgment with a battery on
“ Harbour island, one of the Bahamas, as also, that the
“ usual retreat, and general receptacle for privates, is at
“ Providence, the principal of those islands; his majesty
“ has been further pleased to give directions for dislodging
“ those pirates, who have taken shelter in the said islands,
“ as well as for securing those islands, and making set-
“ tlements, and a fortification there, for the safety and
“ benefit of the trade and navigation of those seas for the
“ future.” *

By a proclamation, dated the 5th of September, 1717,† his majesty promised his pardon to any English West India pirates, who should surrender themselves on or before the 5th of September following, for all piracies committed before the 5th of January preceding: and, after the said 5th of September any of his majesty's officers by sea or land, who should take a pirate, upon his conviction, to have for a captain, a hundred pounds; for any other

* Annals of King George, vol. iv. p. 327. Oldmixon, vol. ii. Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. iv.

† Historical Register, for 1717, p. 37. Salmon's Chronological Historian, vol. ii. p. 77.

officer, from a lieutenant down to a gunner, forty pounds; for an inferior officer, thirty pounds; and for every private man, twenty pounds. Lastly, any pirate delivering up a captain, or commander, on or before the 6th of September following, so as he should be convicted, was to have two hundred pounds reward, to be paid at the treasury. We shall, in treating of the events of next year, give a large account of the good effects which this proclamation produced, by giving an immediate check to the insolence of these sort of people, and opening a way to their total suppression. But it is now time to return to affairs of greater importance, and to say somewhat of the politics of the British ministry at this juncture; the rather, because all the naval transactions which follow, depend entirely upon them.

The troubles of the north still subsisting, we could not suddenly extricate ourselves from the share we had taken in them; though it was visibly such a one, as had put our commerce under great difficulties abroad, and perplexed us not a little at home. The merchants complained of the bad effects which the prohibition of trade with Sweden had produced; asserting that, instead of thirty thousand pounds a-year, which the balance of that trade constantly brought us, we now lost ninety thousand pounds a-year, by purchasing Swedish commodities from other people, particularly from the Dutch, who raised the price of Swedish iron four pounds a ton; which was thought the harder, because, in the original quarrel, the Dutch were as deep as ourselves, and now, by an unaccountable turn, they were in possession of the whole Swedish trade; and we, after all our armaments, were entirely excluded.*

This was the effect of the Swedish war abroad; but here at home, things were in a worse situation; for

* Chandler's Debates, vol. vi. p. 178. Historical Register, for 1718, p. 141. Annals of King George, vol. iv. p. 113.

several of the leading patriots who had resigned their places, upon that change of measures which produced the Swedish war, insisted warmly, both within doors, and without, that it was now carried on, not only without regard, but in direct opposition, and with manifest disadvantage to the interest of Great Britain. In proof of this, they alledged not only the memorials presented from time to time by the Swedish ministers, but those also delivered of late by the minister from the czar; which concurred in affirming, that all our measures in the north were governed by the German interest.* I do not take upon me to determine whether these gentlemen were in the right, or in the wrong. I only relate matters of fact as I find them: and relate them, because my history would not be intelligible without them.

The ministry, however, did not change their sentiments, but persisted still in their resolution, to bring the king of Sweden to such terms as they thought reasonable by force. This was a method, which, of all princes, Charles XII. could least bear; and therefore instead of thinking of a peace upon such terms, he turned his thoughts entirely on the means of carrying on the war; and though his affairs were in a very low and distressed condition, yet his heroic spirit, joined to the indefatigable pains he took, put them at last into such a posture, that if he had not been snatched away by a sudden death, it is highly probable he would have restored them, at least on the side of Germany.†

But this was not the only affair of consequence that employed the thoughts of the administration. We were then in close confederacy with the emperor and France;

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* Lamberti, tom. x. p. 40—51, where the reader may find the several memorials, and answers to them.

† Voltaire *Histoire de Charles XII. Roi de Suede*, liv. viii. p. 328, 329. *Mercur Historique et Politique*, tom. lxxvi. p. 37. Oldmixon's *History*, vol. ii. p. 628.

and, in conjunction with these powers, had undertaken to settle the affairs of Europe on a better foundation than the treaty of Utrecht left them. With this view, the triple alliance was concluded on the 4th of January, 1717;^{*} and, that not answering the end expected from it, we next entered, as will be shewn, into the famous quadruple alliance,[†] which was intended to remedy all these defects, and to fix the general tranquillity for ever. Yet, by unforeseen accidents, to which human policy will be always liable, this alliance proved the cause of an immediate war between us and Spain, and in its consequences was the source of all the troubles that disturbed Europe, from the time of its conclusion to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

By this quadruple treaty, the terms of which were already fixed, though it was not executed for some months afterwards, the contracting powers undertook to satisfy the emperor and the king of Spain : in order to which, his^{††} imperial majesty was to have Sicily given him; and the reversion of all the Italian dominions, which the queen of Spain pretended was to be secured to her posterity. The crown of Spain was highly displeased with the provision made for its interest; and though the emperor seemed to be very well contented at this juncture; yet, as soon as Spain was compelled to accept what was now offered her, he also grew displeased with this partition, and we were many years unable to keep them both in any temper, or preserve ourselves from being involved in their quarrels, as the reader, in the course of this work, will be sufficiently informed. These Spanish disputes were another

^{*} Corps Universel Diplomatique, tom. viii. part I. p. 484. Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 508. Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 660. Annals of King George, vol. iv. p. 139.

[†] Corps Universel Diplomatique, tom. viii. part I. p. 531. Annals of King George, vol. iv. p. 156. Historical Register, for 1713, p. 321

ground of opposition, which afforded room for the then parties to complain, that we were more attentive to the interest of the emperor, than careful of the commerce of Great Britain. In spite of this clamour, the ministry concerted with the emperor and France, the proper means for executing the project which gave birth to this treaty, by taking the island of Sicily from the duke of Savoy, who was now possessed of it, with the title of king, and giving it to his imperial majesty; to which the first-mentioned prince was obliged to submit, because he saw plainly, that if he did not consent to yield this kingdom to the emperor, he should either have it taken from him by force, or lose it to the Spaniards, from whom Sardinia was, by our plan, to be taken and bestowed on the duke of Savoy, in exchange for Sicily. *

In this critical situation things were, when the parliament met on the 21st of November, 1717; and, on the 2d of December following, they granted, as the custom had been of late years, ten thousand seamen for the year 1718, and two hundred twenty four thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven pounds fourteen shillings and eleven pence, for the ordinary of the navy. But, as this would by no means answer the designs that had been formed by the administration, the king was prevailed upon to send a message to the house of commons on the 17th of March, conceived in the following terms: †

“GEORGE REX.

“His majesty being at present engaged in several
“negociations, of the utmost concern to the welfare of
“these kingdoms, and the tranquillity of Europe; and
“having lately received information from abroad, which
“makes him judge that it will give weight to his endea-

* Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 562. Oldmixon's History of England, vol. ii. p. 660. Annals of King George, vol. iv. p. 188, 189.

† Chandler's Debates, vol. vi. p. 150, 180.

“ vours, if a naval force be employed where it shall be necessary, does think fit to acquaint this house therewith; not doubting, but that in case he should be obliged, at this critical juncture, to exceed the number of men granted this year for the sea service, the house will at their next meeting provide for such exceeding.”

This message was brought to the house by Mr. Boscawen, and an address, promising to make good such exceedings as were mentioned, if they should be found necessary, was moved for by Sir William Strickland, and agreed to, without a division; which was extremely agreeable to the court.* The next day the king thought fit to make some alterations at the navy-board; and, accordingly, James, earl of Berkley, Sir George Byng, Sir John Jennings, John Cockburn, and William Chetwynd, Esqrs. Sir John Norris, and Sir Charles Wager, were declared commissioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral of England, Ireland, &c. the right honourable James, earl of Berkley, appointed vice-admiral, and Matthew Aylmer, Esq. rear-admiral of Great Britain, who was soon after raised to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Ireland.†

A D. 1718. While these steps were taking, a great number of large ships were put into commission, and such other measures pursued, as rendered it evident, that the fleet now fitting out, would not prove a fleet of parade. The Spanish minister here, M. de Monteleone, who was a man of foresight and intrigue, being alarmed at these appearances, represented in a memorial, dated the 18th of March, 1718, “ That so powerful an armament, in time of peace, could not but cause umbrage to the king his master,

* Annals of King George, vol. iv. p. 111, 112. Oldmixon's History of England, vol. ii. p. 658. Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. ii. p. 561.

† Historical Register, for 1718, p. 11. Annals of King George, vol. iv. p. 377. Salmon's Chronological Historian, vol. ii. p. 80.

“ and alter the good intelligence that reigned between
 “ the two crowns.” The king answered, “ That it was
 “ not his intention to conceal the subject of that arma-
 “ ment; and that he designed soon to send Admiral
 “ Byng, with a powerful squadron, into the Mediterra-
 “ nean sea, in order to maintain the neutrality of Italy,
 “ against those who should seek to disturb it.” * The
 reason assigned for acting with so much vigour, was the
 dispositions made in Spain for attacking the island of
 Sicily, and the hardships that were put upon the British
 merchants. Cardinal Alberoni, who was then at the head
 of the Spanish affairs, defended himself, and the measures
 he had taken, with great spirit, endeavouring to make the
 world believe, that the Spanish expedition against the
 island of Sicily was not so much a matter of choice as of
 necessity. I should wrong that able minister extremely,
 if I should endeavour to give his sense in any other words
 than his own; and, therefore, I have preserved his letter
 upon this subject; † which is so much the more curious,

* Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 562. Oldmixon, vol. ii. Annals of King George, vol. iv. p. 166. *Mercuré Historique et Politique*, tom. xliv. p. 467.

† The letter referred to in the text was written by Cardinal Alberoni to the Marquis de Berretti Landi, his catholic majesty's ambassador to the States-general, who communicated it to their high mightinesses. The reader will easily perceive, that this letter falls a good deal later in point of time, than where I place it; but, as it contains the reasons of the Sicilian expedition, I thought it came in best for my purpose here.

“ I acquaint your excellency, that my Lord Stanhope set out the
 “ 26th of this month from the court at the Escorial for Madrid;
 “ whence he was to proceed in his journey to Paris; having seen
 “ proofs sufficient, during his stay here, of the constancy and firmness
 “ with which the king rejected the project of the prince's mediators,
 “ and the suspension of arms last proposed. He learned from their
 “ majesties own mouths, in two long conferences, to which he had
 “ the honour to be admitted, that they detested that project, as unjust,
 “ prejudicial, and offensive to their honour; I told him, that I did

as no notice at all is taken of it, in some late accounts of this expedition.

“ to admit the duke of Savoy into their alliance; not only considering
 “ of what little use he will be to them, but because it is certain those
 “ powers have no need of the troops of Savoy, unless that prince
 “ will maintain them at his own expense, which will be very difficult
 “ to obtain.

“ As for Sicily, I declared to my Lord Stanhope, in the presence
 “ of the Marquis de Nancie, that France and Great Britain had of
 “ themselves, and none else whatever, induced the king to recover
 “ that kingdom; for both these courts had assured his majesty, that
 “ the duke of Savoy was treating with the arch-duke to give up to
 “ him that island, if he would accept of it; but that he had refused
 “ it, considering it would be better for him to receive it by the dispo-
 “ sition of the powers mediators, and with the consent of Spain,
 “ because in that case he would have the advantage to obtain it by a
 “ more just and more authentic title; besides the assurance of keep-
 “ ing it by the favour of so powerful a guarantor. I likewise shewed
 “ my Lord Stanhope that the archduke being made master of Sicily,
 “ all Italy will become slaves to the Germans, and the powers of
 “ Europe not be able to set her at liberty. And, that the Germans
 “ in the last war, with a small body of troops, made head, and disputed
 “ the ground against two crowns, which had formidable armies in
 “ Lombardy, were masters of the country, and a great number of
 “ considerable places. I also represented to him very clearly, that,
 “ to make war in Lombardy, was to make it in a labyrinth, and that
 “ it was the fatal burial-place of the French and English. That every
 “ year of the last war cost France eighteen or twenty thousand re-
 “ cruits, and above fifteen millions: that the duke of Vendosme, at
 “ the time things went prosperously, said, that if the war in Italy
 “ lasted, the two crowns must indispensibly abandon that province,
 “ because of the immense charge. That, according to the engage-
 “ ments now proposed, the succours of Great Britain are far off, and
 “ impracticable, and that the rest would cost a potosi, enough to ruin
 “ a kingdom. That at present those of France are impossible, and
 “ would be generally opposed by the nation. That the archduke
 “ would triumph with all these advantages, and England not recover
 “ the least reimbursement; when, on the contrary, she might gain
 “ considerably, by siding with Spain. In conclusion, I told Lord
 “ Stanhope plainly, that the proposition of giving Sicily to the arch-
 “ duke was absolutely fatal; and that of settling bounds afterwards
 “ to his vast designs, a mere dream and illusion, since that prince,
 “ being possessed of Sicily, would have no farther need either of

About the middle of the month of March, Sir George Byng was appointed admiral and commander-in-chief of the squadron intended for the Mediterranean; and, on the 24th of May following, he received his instructions, which were to this purpose. "That he should, upon his arrival in the Mediterranean, acquaint the king of Spain, and likewise the viceroy of Naples, and governor of Milan, he was sent into that sea, in order to promote all measures that might best contribute to the composing the differences arisen between the two crowns, and for preventing any farther violation of the neutrality of Italy, which he was to see preserved. That he was to make instances to both parties to forbear all acts of hostility, in order to the setting on foot, and concluding the proper negotiations of peace. But, in case the Spaniards should still persist to attack the emperor's territory in Italy, or to land in any part of Italy for that purpose, or should endeavour to make themselves masters of the island of Sicily, which must be with a design to invade the kingdom of Naples, he was then, with all his power, to hinder and obstruct the same; but, if they were already landed, he was to endeavour amicably to dissuade them from persevering in such an attempt, and to offer them his assistance to withdraw their troops, and put an end to all farther acts of hostility; but, if his friendly endeavours should prove ineffectual, he was then to defend the territories attacked, by keeping company with, or intercepting their ships, convoys, or (if necessary) by opposing them openly." It is evident that these instructions were not of the clearest kind; but, it seems, they were explained to him beforehand, by the great men who had then the direction of all

"France or England, for bringing immediately the rest of Italy under subjection; and no power would be in a condition to oppose it. Thus is the substance of all the conferences my Lord Stanhope had, and your excellency may make use of it as occasion shall offer."

things, as appears by a letter which is still preserved, and which I have placed in the notes. *

The admiral sailed the 15th of June, 1718, from Spit-head, with twenty ships of the line-of-battle, two fire-ships, two bomb-vessels, an hospital-ship, and a store-ship. † Being got into the ocean, he sent the Rupert to Lisbon for intelligence; and arriving the 30th off Cape St. Vincent, he despatched the Superbe to Cadiz, with a gentleman, who carried a letter from him to Colonel Stanhope, afterwards earl of Harrington, the king's envoy at Madrid, wherein he desired that minister to acquaint the king of Spain with his arrival in those parts, in his way to the Mediterranean, and to lay before him the instructions he was to act under with his squadron; of which he gave a very ample detail in his letter.

The envoy shewed the letter to Cardinal Alberoni, who, upon reading it, told him with some warmth, "That his master would run all hazards, and even suffer himself to be driven out of Spain, rather than recal his troops,

* The letter referred to in the text, is from Mr. Secretary Craggs, immediately before his embarkation; it is preserved by the accurate historian of this expedition, in his Appendix, p. 208, of his original edition; from whence I have transcribed it, as a full proof that Sir George acted according to the verbal explication of his written orders by the ministers.

"SIR,

"Cockpit, May 27, O. S. 1718.

"I inclose to you his majesty's instructions, as well with relation to your conduct in the Mediterranean, as to the treaty with the Moors.

"After what passed yesterday between my Lord Sunderland, my Lord Stanhope, you and me, when we were together at Lord Stanhope's lodgings, there remains nothing for me, but to wish you a good voyage, and success in your undertakings. I do it very heartily, and am, with great truth,

"Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"J. CRAGGS."

† Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 566. Columna Rostata, p. 302. Annals of King George, vol. iv. p. 152. Mercure Historique et Politique, tom. lxxv. p. 100, 101.

“ or consent to any suspension of arms;” adding, “ That the Spaniards were not to be frightened, and he was so well convinced of their fleet’s doing their duty, that if the admiral should think fit to attack them, he should be in no pain for the success.” Mr. Stanhope having in his hand a list of a British squadron, desired his eminence to peruse it, and to compare its strength with that of their own squadron; which the cardinal took and threw on the ground with much passion. Mr. Stanhope, with great temper, entreated him “ To consider the sincere attention the king, his master, had to the honour and interest of his Catholic majesty, which it was impossible for him to give greater proofs of than he had done, by his unwearied endeavours through the whole course of the present negociation, to procure the most advantageous conditions possible for Spain, in which he had succeeded even beyond what any unprejudiced person could have hoped for; and that, though by the treaty of Utrecht for the neutrality of Italy, which was entered into at the request of the king of Spain himself, as also by that of Westminster, the 25th of May, 1716, his majesty found himself obliged to defend the emperor’s dominions when attacked; he had hitherto only acted as a mediator, though, ever since the enterprize against Sardinia, by his treaties he became a party in the war, and for this year last past had been strongly called upon by the emperor to comply with his engagements; and that, even now, when it was impossible for him to delay any longer the sending his fleet into the Mediterranean, it plainly appeared by the admiral’s instructions, which he communicated to his eminence, and by the orders he had himself received; that his majesty had nothing more at heart, than that his fleet might be employed in promoting the interests of the king of Spain, and hoped his Catholic majesty would not, by refusing to recal his troops, or consent to a

“cessation of arms, put it out of his power to give all the proofs of sincere friendship he always designed to cultivate with his catholic majesty.”

All that the cardinal could be brought to promise was, to lay the admiral's letter before the king, * and to let the envoy know his resolution upon it in two days; but it was nine before he could obtain and send it away; the cardinal probably hoping, that the admiral would delay taking vigorous measures in expectation of it, and perhaps put into some of the ports of Spain, and thereby give time for their fleet and forces to secure a good footing in Sicily. The answer was written under the admiral's letter in these words: “His catholic majesty has done me the honour to tell me that the Chevalier Byng may execute the orders which he has from the king his master.

“The Cardinal ALBERONI.” †

“Escorial, July 15, 1718.

Mr. Stanhope seeing things tending to a rupture, gave private and early notice of his apprehensions to the English consuls, and merchants settled in the Spanish seaports, advising them to secure their effects against the dangers that might arise from a breach between the two crowns. This shewed plainly enough, that our minister was perfectly acquainted with the disposition of the administration at home, who, notwithstanding they steadily pursued these warlike measures, as constantly adhered to their first resolution, of throwing the weight of this rup-

* Oldmixon's History of England, vol. ii. p. 661. Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, *ubi supra*. Annals of King George, vol. iv. p. 189. See Mr. Secretary Cragg's Letter to the Marquis de Monteleone, in the Historical Register, for 1718, p. 307.

† See the Account of the Expedition of the British Fleet to Sicily, p. 8. As this is collected very fairly from original papers, I depend upon it as to facts; but have endeavoured to state them with concurring evidence, in a manner more suitable to this history, in which I desire to be considered in no other light than as a lover of truth, independent of complaisance or party.

ture, if possible, on the court of Spain. * With this view, Lord Stanhope set out himself for Madrid, in order to make new propositions to his catholic majesty; which, if accepted might prevent things from coming to extremities; in which negociation he actually laboured till very near the time that hostilities were begun; but to no purpose, for Cardinal Alberoni was as much bent on executing his own scheme, as the British ministry could be with regard to theirs; and therefore rejected all the proposals that were made him, with a firmness that was styled insolence by his enemies. †

The admiral pursuing his voyage with unfavourable winds, it was the 8th of July before he made Cape Spartel, where the Superbe and Rupert rejoined him, and brought him advice of the mighty preparations the Spaniards had made at Barcelona, and of their fleet sailing from thence the 18th of June to the eastward. In passing by Gibraltar, Vice-admiral Cornwall came out of that port and joined him, with the Argyle and Charles galley. The squadron wanting water, and the wind continuing contrary, they anchored off Cape Malaga; where having completed their watering in four days, they proceeded to Minorca, where the admiral was to land four regiments of foot, which he carried out from England, in order to relieve the soldiers there in the garrison, who were to embark and serve on board the squadron. On the 23d of July he anchored with the squadron off Port Mahon:

* M. de St. Philippe Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire de l'Espagne, tom. iii. p. 288, 289.

† Annals of King George, vol. v. p. 7. Lord Stanhope arrived at Madrid on the 12th of August, and on the 14th had a long conference with the cardinal at the Escorial, which gave him great hopes of success; but, it seems, the news which that court received a few days after, from Sicily, so elevated the prime minister, that all prospect of a pacification vanished, which his lordship no sooner perceived, than he left Spain as soon as possible, having his audience of leave on the 26th of the same month. *Mercur Historique et Politique*, tom. lxxv. p. 358.

here he received advice, that the Spanish fleet had been seen on the 30th of June, within forty leagues off Naples, steering S. E. upon which he despatched away expresses to the governor of Milan, and viceroy of Naples, to inform them of his arrival in the Mediterranean; and having shifted the garrisons of Minorca, he sailed from thence on the 25th of July, and arrived the 1st of August in the bay of Naples. *

One need not wonder that the German government was extremely well pleased at the admiral's arrival, or that they paid him every honour in their power; since it is very certain, that his coming so luckily preserved that Kingdom for the house of Austria, which had otherwise, in all probability, shared the fate of Sicily; that the Marquis de Lede had conquered almost as soon as he landed, or rather his landing gave people an opportunity of declaring for that power, which, though it had lost its sovereignty over them, had still preserved their affections. †

This news alarmed the viceroy of Naples, who had now no hopes but from the defence that might be made by the citadel of Messina; and from that he could have no great confidence, since it was garrisoned by the duke of Savoy's troops, who could not be supposed to interest themselves much in preserving a place which their master was to part with so soon. The viceroy, therefore, wisely considered how he might make the best use of the British fleet and

* Tindal's *Continuation of Rapin*, vol. iv. p. 567. *Columna Rostrata*, p. 302. 303. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. lxx. Lediard's *Naval History*, vol. ii. p. 876.

† The imperial viceroy of Naples presented Sir George with a sword set with diamonds, and a very rich staff of command; and to the admiral's son he made a present of a very fine sword. After the conference the admiral was splendidly entertained at dinner, and then lodged in the palace of the duke de Matelona, which had been magnificently fitted up for his reception. The viceroy likewise sent refreshments to the fleet, consisting of a hundred oxen, three hundred sheep, six hundred pounds of sugar, seventy hogsheads of brandy, and several other things.

his own forces; upon which he came at last to this prudent resolution, which was, to embark two thousand German foot under the command of General Wetzels, who were to take possession of the citadel of Messina, and Fort Salvador, in pursuance of an agreement, with the duke of Savoy, who, finding that at all events he was to lose the island, contrived to lose it so, as that he might get something for it. These German forces were to be escorted by the British fleet, which sailed for that purpose from Naples on the 6th of August, and arrived on the 9th in view of the Faro of Messina. *

The Spanish army, after having taken the city last-mentioned, were now encamped before the citadel, which the troops, under the protection of Sir George Byng, were going to relieve. It was therefore highly probable that an action would ensue; and for this reason it was thought requisite to put on still a peaceable appearance, in order to throw the blame upon the Spaniards; which, however, was pretty difficult to do, since, with respect to the treaty of Utrecht, the only treaty of which the Spaniards could take any notice, the Germans were as much invaders as they, and consequently the escorting an invasion seemed to be an odd way of preserving a neutrality. † This step,

* M. de St. Philippe Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire de l'Espagne, tom. iii. p. 295.

† As our ministers, in conjunction with those of the emperor and France, were at great pains to inspire all Europe with the utmost horror for Cardinal Alberoni, so that minister, than whom perhaps there never was an abler politician, thought fit, on his side, to publish several pieces, in order to shew, that the present dispute, was not between the English and Spanish nations, but between the English ministry, who would give law to the king of Spain, and the Spanish nation, that were determined not to receive it. Among these the following manifesto was thought the most remarkable, and will serve to give the reader a clear idea of the manner in which the court of Spain would have had this affair understood. It is a letter written by the cardinal to the M. de Beretti Landi; but the reader will see by the close of it, why I style it a manifesto; in which light it was also

however, was necessary to be taken; and the admiral, who in point of good sense and good breeding was as able a man as any in his time, did it with a very good grace.

considered by our court, as appears by Secretary Cragg's letter to the Spanish minister, dated from Hampton-court, September 4, 1718, in which he complains loudly of this proceeding, as if intended to excite the merchants to disaffection toward the government.

" SIR,

" It is notorious every where, that the ministry of Great Britain, being prepossessed by their passions and private views, have endeavoured, by all imaginable means, to infuse into the English nation an entire distrust and aversion for Spain, to engage the said nation to pursue the maxims of that ministry, which are so prejudicial and contrary to the common good. It is known, that of late the government of England hath used their utmost endeavours to persuade the nation, that the application and designs of Spain were to increase considerably her naval forces, to oppose the commerce which all nations in general carry on with the Indies, notwithstanding the two last treaties; and the religious observation of his majesty's royal word ought to convince the English of the artifice with which those rumours are spread, and which are contrived only to excite distrust and disunion with the Spaniards; and every man of sound judgment will reflect, that God has put the Indies into the power of that monarchy, to the end that all nations might partake of that advantage: however, it is the king's will, that, for the greater proof of the sincere desire he has to maintain the public tranquillity, and for dispelling reports so pernicious to the quiet of the subjects of Spain and England, your excellency should assure the English merchants that are in Holland, and all those who are concerned in commerce, that his majesty will never alter the established laws, nor even infringe the treaties which the English nation enjoy, with so great benefit, by his generosity; and that the naval forces of Spain are to consist only of a limited number, that may be sufficient to secure her coasts in the Mediterranean, and to defend and convoy her galleons. For a proof of what his majesty orders me to say to your excellency, a new conjuncture just now offers itself, in which the king my master, to signalize his love of the British nation, passes by without resentment the contents of the paper here subjoined, which is a copy of that delivered by Mr. Stanhope, and by which an open rupture is declared, if the project be not accepted; and they offer to oblige the king to it by threats. On the contrary, his majesty, instead of being provoked at such a proceeding, has ordered, as an instance of the good faith with which he hath always acted, that the effects

He sent for this purpose his first captain, who was Captain Saunders, with a letter to the Marquis de Lede, in which he acquainted him, "That the king his master, being engaged by several treaties to preserve the tranquillity of Italy, had honoured him with the command of a squadron of ships, which he had sent into these seas, and that he came fully empowered and instructed to promote such measures as might best accommodate all differences between the powers concerned; that his majesty was employing his utmost endeavours to bring about a general pacification, and was not without hopes of success. He therefore proposed to him to come to a cessation of arms in Sicily for two months, in order to give time to the several courts to conclude on such resolutions as might restore a lasting peace:" but added, "That, if he was not so happy to succeed in this offer of service, nor to be instrumental in bringing about so desirable a work, he then hoped to merit his excellency's esteem in the execution of the other part of his orders, which were, to use all his force to prevent farther attempts to disturb the dominions his master stood engaged to defend."

"and merchandize of the English, which are in the flota that is newly arrived at Cadiz from the Indies, shall not be touched, nor any charge made in relation to them, it being the king's intention, that what belongs to each of the English merchants respectively should be delivered to them. The resolution is very different from the rumours which the British ministry spreads, and is an incontestable proof, that the king's will ever inclines him to promote the benefit of that nation. His majesty orders, that your excellency read this letter to all English merchants in general, as also the contents of the paper hereunto annexed, and that you assure them, that the king will firmly maintain the treaty, preferring the advantages of the British nation to all other satisfaction, and hoping that, in return, men so wise, so prudent, and so intelligent will not let themselves be drawn away by the persuasions, and for the private ends of English ministry, which are entirely fatal to the peace of the two nations and of the two kingdoms.

"I am. &c."

The next morning the captain returned with the general's answer, "That it would be an inexpressible joy for his person to contribute to so laudable an end as peace; but, as he had no powers to treat, he could not of consequence agree to any suspension of arms, even at the expense of what the courage of his master's arms might be put to, but should follow his orders, which directed him to seize on Sicily for his master the king of Spain: that he had a true sense of his accomplished expressions; but his master's forces would always be universally esteemed in sacrificing themselves for the preservation of their credit, in which cases the success did not always answer the ideas that were formed for it."*

According to the best accounts the admiral could receive, he was led to conclude that the Spanish fleet had sailed from Malta, in order to avoid him; and therefore, upon receiving the marquis's answer, he immediately weighed, with an intention to come with his squadron before Messina, in order to encourage and support the garrison and the citadel; but as he stood in about the point of the Faro, toward Messina, he saw two of the Spanish scouts in the Faro; and being informed at the same time, by a felucca that came off from the Calabrian shore, that they saw from the hills the Spanish fleet lying by, the admiral altered his design, and sending away General Wetzels with the German troops to Reggio under the convoy of two men-of-war, he stood through the Faro with his squadron, with all the sail he could, after their scouts, imagining they would lead him to their fleet, which accordingly they did. For about noon he had a fair sight of their whole fleet, lying by, and drawn into a line-of-battle, consisting of twenty-seven sail of men-of-war, small and great, besides two fire-ships, four bomb-vessels, seven gallies, and several ships laden with

* I take this literally from the History of the Expedition before cited.

stores and provisions, commanded by the Admiral Don Antonio de Casteneta, and under him four rear-admirals, Chacon, Mari, Guevara, and Cammock; on the sight of the English squadron they stood away large, but in good order of battle. *

The admiral followed them all the rest of that day and the succeeding night, with small gales N. E. and sometimes calm, with fair weather; the next morning early, the 11th, the English having gotten pretty near them, † the Marquis de Mari, rear-admiral, with six Spanish men-of-war, and all the gallies, fire-ships, bomb-vessels, and store-ships, separated from their main fleet, and stood in for the Sicilian shore; upon which the admiral detached Captain Walton in the Canterbury, with five more ships after them; and the Argyle fired a shot to bring her to, but she not minding it, the Argyle fired a second, and the

* M. de St. Philippe Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire de l'Espagne, tom. iii. p. 297, 298, 299.

† It is evident from hence that our admiral had no intention to decline fighting; and the following letter from Earl Stanhope, then secretary-of-state, plainly proves it was not the intention of those who sent him that he should decline fighting. It is a curious piece, and very well worthy the reader's notice, as it tends to explain the great view of this expedition.

“ Bayonne, September 2, 1718.

“ Being arrived here last night, in six days from Madrid, I do, in pursuance of the commands I have from his majesty, take this first opportunity of acquainting you, that nothing has passed at Madrid which should divert you from pursuing the instructions you have.

“ If the news which I learn at Bayonne, that the citadel of Messina is taken, be not true, or if, notwithstanding the Spaniards have that port, their fleet, by contrary winds, or any other accident, should not have got into the harbour, and that you have an opportunity of attacking them, I am persuaded you will not let such an occasion slip; and I agree perfectly in opinion with what is recommended to you by Mr. Secretary Craggs, that the first blow you give, should, if possible be decisive.

“ The two great objects, which, I think, we ought to have in view, are, to destroy their fleet, if possible, and to preserve such a footing in Sicily as may enable us to land an army there.”

Canterbury, being somewhat nearer, fired a third ; upon which the Spanish ship fired a stern-chace at the Canterbury, and then the engagement began.*

The admiral pursuing the main body of the Spanish fleet, the Orford, Captain Falkingham, and the Grafton, Captain Haddock, came up first with them, about ten of the clock, at whom the Spaniards fired their stern-chace guns. The admiral sent orders to those two ships not to fire, unless the Spaniards repeated their firing, which, as soon as they did, the Orford attacked the Santa Rosa, of sixty-four guns, and took her. The St. Carlos, of sixty guns, struck next, without much opposition, to the Kent, Captain Matthews. The Grafton attacked warmly the Prince of Asturias, of seventy guns, formerly called the Cumberland, in which was Rear-admiral Chacon ; but the Breda and Captain coming up, Captain Haddock left that ship, much shattered, for them to take, and stretched a-head after another ship of sixty guns, which had kept firing on his starboard bow during his engagement with the Prince of Asturias. About one o'clock the Kent, and soon after the Superbe, Captain Master, came up with, and engaged the Spanish admiral of seventy-four guns, who, with two ships more, fired on them, and made a running fight till about three ; and then the Kent, bearing down under his stern gave him her broadside, and fell to leeward afterwards ; the Superbe, putting forward to lay the admiral a-board, fell on his weather quarter ; upon which, the Spanish admiral shifting his helm, the Superbe ranged under his lee-quarter ; on which he struck to her. At the same time the Barfleur, in which was the admiral, being

* See the line-of-battle, inserted at the end of this relation. It was undoubtedly an act of rashness in Cardinal Alberoni to give any fighting orders to the Spanish admiral, if he did give them. But from what is here said, the contrary is the most probable ; indeed, the resolution of the Spanish admirals seems to prove, they were not guided by any orders ; if so, we must conclude they acted from a principle of self-preservation, and fought only because they were forced to it.

a-stern of the Spanish admiral, within shot, and inclining on his weather-quarter, Rear-admiral Guevara, and another sixty-gun ship, which were to windward, bore down upon him, and gave him their broadsides, and then clapped upon a wind, standing in for land. The admiral immediately tacked and stood after them until it was almost night, but it being little wind, and they hauling away out of his reach, he left pursuing them, and stood in to the fleet, which he joined two hours after night. *

The Essex took the Juno of thirty-six guns, the Montague and Rupert took the Volante of forty-four guns, and Rear-admiral Delaval, in the Dorsetshire, took the Isabella of sixty guns. The action happened off Cape Passaro, at about six leagues distance from the shore. †

* Oldmixon's History of England, vol. ii. p. 663. Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 568. Annals of King George, vol. v. p. 12. Columna Rostrata, p. 303—305. Mercure Historique et Politique, tom. lxxv. p. 339.

† A List of the British fleet under the command of Sir George Byng, in the action off Cape Passaro in Sicily, in the year 1718.

SHIPS.	CAPTAINS.	MEN.	GUNS.
Barfleur	{ Admiral Byng 1 George Saunders 2 Richard Lestock }	730	90
Shrewsbury ..	{ Vice-admiral Cornwall .. John Balchen }	545	80
Dorsetshire. ..	{ Rear-admiral Delaval. . . . John Furger }	535	70
Burford.	Charles Vanbrugh	440	70
Essex.	Richard Rowzier	410	70
Grafton	Nicholas Haddock	440	70
Lenox.	Charles Strickland	410	70
Breda.	Barrow Harris	440	70
Orford.	Edward Palkingham	440	70
Kent	Thomas Matthews	440	70
Royal Oak . . .	Thomas Kempthorne	440	70
Captain	Archibald Hamilton	440	70
Canterbury . . .	George Walton	365	60
Dreadnought..	William Haddock	365	60

Carried over. . . . 6500 990

The English received but little damage: the ship that suffered most was the Grafton, which being a good sailer, her captain engaged several ships of the enemy, always pursuing the headmost, and leaving those ships he had disabled or damaged to be taken by those that followed him. The admiral lay by some days at sea to refit the rigging of his ships, and to repair the damages which the prizes had sustained; and the 18th, received a letter from Captain Walton, who had been sent in pursuit of the Spanish ships that escaped. The letter is singular enough in its kind to deserve notice, and therefore the historian of this expedition has, with great judgment, preserved it. Thus it runs:

“ SIR,

“ We have taken and destroyed all the Spanish ships
“ and vessels which were upon the coast, the number as
“ *per* margin.

“ I am, &c.

“ G. WALTON.”

Canterbury, off Syracuse,

Aug. 16, 1718.

These ships that Captain Walton thrust into his margin would have furnished matter for some pages in a French relation; for, from the account they referred to, it appeared, that he had taken four Spanish men-of-war, one of sixty guns, commanded by Rear-admiral Mari, one of fifty-four, one of forty, and one of twenty-four guns with

		Brought over....	6500		990
Rippon	Christopher Obrian	365	....	60	
Superbe.....	Streynsham Master	365	....	60	
Rupert.	Arthur Field	365	....	60	
Dunkirk	Francis Drake	365	....	60	
Montague....	Thomas Beverly	365	....	60	
Rochester	Joseph Winder	280	....	50	
Argyle.....	Coningsby Norbury	280	....	50	
		<hr/>		<hr/>	
			8885		1390

a bomb-vessel, and a ship laden with arms: and burnt four men-of-war, one of fifty-four guns, two of forty, and one of thirty guns, with a fire-ship and a bomb-vessel. * Such is the account given of this famous action by our admiral: the Spaniards published likewise an account on their side, which was printed in Holland, and circulated with great industry throughout all Europe, in order to make such impressions as might serve their purpose, and incline the world to believe, that their fleet had not been attacked and beaten fairly; but had been surprised and destroyed without that kind of notice which the laws of nature and nations require, to distinguish force of arms from piratical violence. It is but just in any cause to hear both parties, and the office of an historian obliges him to record whatever may give light to the events of that period he pretends to illustrate by his writings. For this reason, I have thought it requisite to give place here to the Spanish account without curtailing or disguising it. †

“ On the 9th of August, in the morning, the English
“ squadron was discovered near the tower of Faro, which

* This account is taken from the several letters written by the admiral, or published with his authority; and from hence it is visible, that the entire destruction of the Spanish maritime power was the principal point in view, and, as such, pursued with equal steadiness and vigour; and, at the same time, abundance of pamphlets were published here, to shew the expediency of this measure, and the benefits that would result to Great Britain from this destruction of the naval power of Spain. The Spaniards, on the other hand, filled all the world with complaints of our insincerity and ambition. Before the blow was struck, said they, the English pretended to be guardians of the neutrality of Italy, and to have armed only for the sake of preserving peace; but, now they have accomplished their ends, they avow them, and say plainly, that they were resolved not to suffer Spain to revive her maritime power. In what chapter of the law of nations do we read of this right of prevention?

† There are many things in this relation more agreeable to the Spanish humour than to truth; but, however, by the comparison of this with our admiral's account, many particulars come to be explained which otherwise might have been buried in obscurity.

“ lay by towards night, off Cape Della Metelle, over-
“ against the said tower. The Spanish squadron was then
“ in the Strait, and some ships and frigates were sent to
“ other places; besides the detachment commanded by
“ Admiral Guevara. And, as the intention of the English
“ in coming so near was not known, the admiral of the
“ Spanish squadron resolved to go out of the Strait, to
“ join together near Cape Spartivento, carrying along
“ with him the transports laden with provisions, that they
“ might penetrate the better into the design of the Eng-
“ lish; the rather, because the officer whom Sir George
“ Byng had sent to the marquis de Lede was not yet
“ returned. The said officer had orders to propose to the
“ said marquis a suspension of arms for two months;
“ upon which the said marquis answered him, that he
“ could not do it without orders from court. Neverthe-
“ less, though it was believed that the alternative was
“ taken of sending a Courier to Madrid with the said
“ proposal, the Spanish squadron took the opportunity
“ of night to surprise the English squadron, and to im-
“ prove those advantages which were owing to dissimu-
“ lation.

“ The said English squadron, on the 10th in the morn-
“ ing, advanced farther into the Faro, and was saluted
“ by all the Spanish ships and vessels which were there;
“ and it is to be observed, that Admiral Byng having
“ convoyed some transport-vessels as far as Rixoles, with
“ the arch-duke's troops, the officer despatched to the
“ marquis de Lede affirmed, that it was not to commit
“ any act of hostility, but only that the said transports
“ might be secured from insults under his protection.

“ The Spanish squadron sent two light frigates to get
“ intelligence of the English squadron; and though they
“ saw the English made all the sail they could (their
“ intention being not known) to approach the Spanish
“ squadron, whose admiral knew not then whether the

“ English came as friends or enemies, yet the Spaniards, being two leagues from the English, resolved to retire towards Cape Passaro, but without making much sail, that it might not be thought they suspected any hostilities. During this a calm happened, by which the ships of both squadrons fell in one among another; and the Spanish admiral, perceiving this accident, caused the ships of the line to be towed, in order to separate them from the English, and join them in one body, without permitting the galleys to begin any act of hostility; which they might have done to their advantage during the calm. The weather changed when the marquis de Mari was near land, and by consequence separated from the rest, making the rear-guard, with several frigates, and other transport-vessels, which made up his division, and endeavoured, though in vain, to join the main body of the Spanish squadron, while the English held on their way, their dissimulation, filling their sails to gain the wind, and cut off the said division of the said marquis de Mari; and having at last succeeded in it, they attacked him with six ships, and obliged him to separate from the rest of the squadron, and to make towards the coast, where they stood it against seven ships of the line, as long as the situation permitted; and being no longer able to resist, the marquis de Mari saved his men, by running his ships a-ground, some of which were burnt by his own order, and others taken by the enemy.

“ Seventeen ships of the line, the remainder of the English squadron, attacked the Royal St. Philip, the Prince of Asturias, the St. Ferdinand, St. Charles, St. Isabella, St. Pedro, and the frigates St. Rosa, Pearl, Juno, and Volante, which continued making towards Cape Passaro; and as they retired in a line, because of the inequality of their strength, the English attacked those that composed the rear-guard, with four or five

“ ships, and took them; and this happened successively
“ to the others, which, notwithstanding all the sail they
“ made, could not avoid being beateu; insomuch, that
“ every Spanish ship being attacked separately by five,
“ six, or seven of theirs, after a bloody and obstinate
“ fight, they made themselves masters at last of the
“ Royal St. Philip, the Prince of Asturias, the St. Charles,
“ the St. Isabella, St. Rosa, the Volante, and the Juno.

“ While the Royal St. Philip was engaged with the
“ English, the rear-admiral of the squadron, Don Bal-
“ thazer de Guevara, returned from Malta with two ships
“ of the line, and turning his prow towards the St. Philip,
“ passed by the English ships which were a-breast of him,
“ firing upon each of them, and then attacked Admiral
“ Byng's ships, which followed the St. Philip, and retired
“ in the night, being very much damaged; for after the
“ engagement, he stayed three or four days fifty leagues
“ at sea, not only to repair the Spanish ships, which he
“ had taken, and were all shattered to pieces; but also
“ to make good the damages which himself had suffered;
“ wherefore he could not enter Syracuse till the 16th
“ or 17th of August, and that with a great deal of diffi-
“ culty.

“ The particulars of the action are, that the whole
“ division of the English admiral, which consisted of
“ seven ships of the line, and a fire-ship, having attacked
“ the royal St. Philip, at two in the afternoon the fight
“ began, by a ship of seventy guns, and another of sixty,
“ from which he received two broadsides; and advancing
“ towards the Royal St. Philip, Don Antonio de Castaneta
“ defended himself so well, that the said two ships re-
“ tired, and two others, viz. one of eighty guns, and the
“ other of seventy, renewed the attack; and the said
“ ship of eighty guns retired very much shattered, with-
“ out making into the line; but others making towards
“ the Spanish admiral, they fired upon him, while it was

“ impossible for him to hurt them, and shot away all his
“ rigging, without leaving him one entire sail, while two
“ others, one of thirty, and the other of sixty guns, at-
“ tacked the starboard of his ship, to oblige him to sur-
“ render; but defending himself till the English admiral
“ was resolved to board him, and carried a fire-ship to
“ reduce him by the flames, which the Spanish commander
“ prevented; but after having lost two hundred men, and
“ maintained the fight till towards night, Don Antonio de
“ Castaneta received a shot which pierced his left leg, and
“ wounded his right heel. Yet, nevertheless he con-
“ tinued to defend himself till a cannon bullet having cut
“ a man in two, the pieces of which fell upon him, and
“ left him half dead, he was forced to surrender.

“ The prince of Asturias, commanded by Don Fernando
“ Chacon, was at the same time attacked by three ships
“ of equal force, against which he defended himself va-
“ liantly, avoiding being boarded, till, being wounded,
“ and having lost most of his men, he was obliged to
“ surrender his ship, which was all shot through and
“ through, after having shot down the masts of an English
“ ship that retired out of the fight.

“ Captain Don Antonio Gonsales, commander of the
“ frigate St. Rosa, defended himself above three hours
“ against five English ships, who did not take him till
“ after they had broken all his sails and masts.

“ The Volante, commanded by Captain don Antonio
“ Escudero, knight of the order of Malta fought three
“ hours and a half against three English ships; and
“ having lost his sails, he put up others that were in store,
“ and was just going to board one of the three ships that
“ attacked him; but his own being shot through and
“ through by six cannon bullets, and the water coming in,
“ he was obliged to surrender, because the ship's crew
“ forced him.

*

“ The Juno was engaged also by three English ships ;
“ yet maintained the fight above three hours, not surren-
“ dering till after most of her men were killed, and the
“ ship just falling in pieces.

“ Captain don Gabriel Alderete, also defended the
“ frigate called the Pearl, against three English ships for
“ three hours ; and after having shot down the masts of
“ one, which immediately retired, he was relieved by
“ Admiral don Balthazar de Guevara, and had the good
“ fortune to escape to Malta.

“ Captain don Andrea Reggio, knight of the order of
“ Malta, who was farthest advanced with the ship the
“ Isabella, was pursued all that night by several English
“ ships ; and, after having defended himself for four
“ hours, he surrendered the next day.

“ The frigate called the Surprise, which was of the
“ Marquis de Mari's division, and by consequence farther
“ advanced than the others, was attacked by three
“ English ships, and maintained a fight for three hours,
“ till the Captain don Michael de Sada, knight of the
“ order of St. John, being wounded, most of her men
“ killed, and all her rigging spoiled, she was forced to
“ surrender.

“ The other light ships and frigates of the Spanish
“ squadron, not already mentioned, retired to Malta and
“ Sardinia ; as did also the Admiral don Balthazar de
“ Guevara, with his two ships St. Lewis and St. John,
“ after having been engaged with the English admiral,
“ and having rescued the frigate called the Pearl.

“ It must not be forgotten, that the marines in every
“ ship signalized and distinguished themselves with a
“ great deal of valour, they being composed of the nobility
“ of Spain.

“ The seven gallies which were under the command of
“ Admiral don Francisco de Grimaó, having done all

“ that was possible to join the Spanish ships, seeing
“ that there was still a fresh gale of wind, retired to
“ Palermo.

“ Besides the above-mentioned ships, which the English
“ took out of the main body of the Spanish squadron, they
“ also made themselves masters of the Royal, and of two
“ frigates, St. Isidore, and the Eagle; those that were
“ burnt by the order of the Marquis de Mari, are two
“ bomb-gallies, a fire-ship, and the Esperanca frigate,
“ so that the ships which escaped out of the battle are the
“ following: St. Lewis, St. John, St. Ferdinand, and St.
“ Peter; and the frigates Hermione, Pearl, Galera, Por-
“ cupine, Thoulouse, Lyon, Little St. John, the Arrow,
“ Little St. Ferdinand, a bomb-galley, and a ship of
“ Pintado.

“ This is the account of the sea-fight, which was at the
“ height of Abola, or the Gulf of l'Ariga, in the canal of
“ Malta, between the Spanish and English squadrons,
“ the last of which, by ill faith, and the superiority of
“ their strength, had the advantage to beat the Spanish
“ ships singly, one by one; and it is to be believed, by
“ the defence the Spaniards made, that if they had acted
“ jointly, the battle would have ended more happily for
“ them.

“ Immediately after the fight, a captain of the English
“ squadron came, in the name of Admiral Byng, to make
“ a compliment of excuse to the Marquis de Lede, giving
“ him to understand, that the Spaniards had been the
“ aggressors, and that this action ought not to be looked
“ upon as a rupture, because the English did not take it
“ as such. To which it was answered, that Spain on the
“ contrary will reckon it a formal rupture; and that they
“ would do the English all the damages and hostilities
“ imaginable, by giving orders to begin with reprisals;
“ and, in consequence of this, several Spanish vessels,

“and Guevara’s squadron, have already taken some
“English ships.” *

* A List of the Spanish fleet, in the action off Cape Passaro, in the year 1718, under the command of Don Antonio de Castaneta, including two ships which were among those that Captain Walton destroyed, on the coast of Sicily.

SHIPS.	CAPTAINS.	MEN.	GUNS.
St. Philip, the.....	Admiral Castaneta, taken	650	.. 74
Prince of Asturias ..	Rear-admiral Charon, taken	550	.. 70
The Royal	Rear-admiral Mari, taken	400	.. 60
St. Lewis	Rear-admiral Guevara, escaped..	400	.. 60
St. Ferdinand.....	Rear-admiral Cammock, escaped, sunk afterwards at Messina		
	Mole	400	.. 60
St. Carlos	Prince de Chalay, taken	400	.. 60
Sancta Isabella	Don Andrea Rezio, taken	400	.. 60
Sancta Rosa	Don Antonio Gonsalves, taken ..	400	.. 60
St. John Baptist....	Don Francisco Geirera, escaped	400	.. 60
St. Peter	Don Antonio Arrisago, escaped, afterwards lost in the gulf of Tarento	400	.. 60
Pearl	Don Gabriel Alderete, escaped ..	300	.. 50
.....	....., burnt	300	.. 50
St. Isidore	Don Manual villa Vicentia, taken	300	.. 46
L’Esperanza.....	Don Juan Delfino and Barlandi, burnt	300	.. 46
Volante	Don Antonio Escudera, taken ..	300	.. 44
.....	....., burnt	300	.. 44
Harmonia	Don Rodrigo de Torres, escaped, sunk afterwards in Messina		
	Mole	300	.. 44
Porcupine	A Frenchman, escaped	250	.. 44
Surprize	Don Michael de Sada, knight of Malta, taken	250	.. 36
Juno	Don Pedro Moyana, taken	250	.. 36
La Galera	Don Francisco Alverera, escaped	200	.. 30
La Castilla	Don Francisco Lenio, knight of Malta, escaped.....	200	.. 30
Count de Thoulouse	Don Joseph Jocoua, escaped, taken in Messina Mole.....	200	.. 30
Tyger	Don — Covaigne, taken	240	.. 26
Carried over.....		8090	1180

There is no question to be made, but that both these relations retain some tincture of the passions and prejudices of those who drew them up; and it is no less certain, that what was commonly reported at that time, of the bad behaviour of the Spaniards, and of their making but a weak defence, was indifferently founded. For the truth is, that their fleet, though strong in appearance, was every way inferior to ours; their ships being old, their artillery none of the best, and their seamen most of them not to be depended upon.* Yet it is agreed on all hands, that their admirals defended themselves gallantly; so that, upon the whole, their defeat may be charged upon their irresolution at the beginning, and their not taking good advice when it was given them.

I mean that of Rear-admiral Cammock, an Irish gentleman, who had served long in our navy, and who was, to speak impartially, a much better seaman than any who bore command in the Spanish fleet. He knew perfectly well the strength of both parties, and saw plainly, that nothing could save the Spaniards but a wise disposition; and therefore, in the last council of war held before the battle, he proposed, that they should remain at anchor in the road of Paradise, ranging their ships in a line of battle, with their broadsides to the sea; which measure

SHIPS.	CAPTAINS.	MEN.	GUNS.
	Brought forward	8090	1180
Eagle	Don Lucas Masana, taken	240	.. 24
St. Francis Areres ..	— Jacob, a Scotsman, escaped	100	.. 22
Little St. Ferdinand	—————, escaped	150	.. 20
Little St. John	Don Ignatio Valevale, escaped, taken afterwards	150	.. 20
Arrow	Don Juan Papajens, escaped	100	.. 18
		<hr/> 8830	<hr/> 1284

* M. de St. Philippe Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire de l'Espagne, tom. iii. p. 297, where he says the same that I do, and blames their admiral Castaneta, for losing three days, in which time he might have reached Malta, and thereby saved the whole Spanish fleet.

would certainly have given the English admiral infinite trouble to attack them; for the coast there is so bold, that their biggest ships could ride with a cable a-shore, and farther out the currents are so various and rapid, that it would be hardly practicable to get up to them, but impossible to anchor, or lye by them in order of battle. Besides, they might have lain so near the shore, and could have received so great reinforcements of soldiers from the army to man and defend them, and the annoyance the Spaniards might have given, from the several batteries they could have planted along the shore, would have been such, that the only way of attacking the ships seemed to be by boarding and grappling with them at once, to prevent being cast off by the currents, which would have been an hazardous undertaking, wherein the Spaniards would have had many advantages, and the English admiral have run the chance of destroying his fleet, or buying a victory, if he succeeded, very dear.* The Spanish admirals were too much persuaded of their own strength, and the courage of their seamen, or else they foolishly depended on their not being attacked by our fleet. Whatever the motive was, they slighted this salutary counsel, and were thereby undone.

As soon as Admiral Byng had obtained a full account of the whole transaction, he despatched away his eldest son to England,† who, arriving at Hampton-court in fifteen days from Naples, brought thither the agreeable confirmation of what public fame had before reported, and upon which the king had already written a letter to the admiral with his own hand.‡ Mr. Byng met with a most

* This was the sentiment of Admiral Byng, and therefore we may conclude, he who gave the advice was a good seaman.

† London Gazette, No. 6673.

‡ This circumstance, as well as the style of the following letter, will sufficiently demonstrate how welcome the news was to his majesty, and how much he approved Sir George Byng's conduct, and the system on which it was founded.

gracious reception from his majesty, who made him a handsome present, and sent him back with plenipotentiary powers to his father, to negociate with the several princes and states of Italy as there should be occasion, and with his royal grant, to the officers and seamen, of all prizes taken by them from the Spaniards. *

The admiral, in the mean time, prosecuted his affairs with great diligence, procured the emperor's troops free access into the fortresses that were still held out in Sicily; sailed afterwards to Malta, and brought out the Sicilian gallies under the command of the Marquis de Rivaroles, and a ship belonging to the Turkey company, which had

" Monsieur le Chevalier Byng,

" Quoi que je n'ai pas encore reçu de vos nouvelles en droiture
 " j'ai appris la victoire que la flotte a remportée sous vos ordres, et
 " je n'ai pas voulu vous différer le contentment que mon approbation
 " de votre conduit vous pourroit donner. Je vous en remercie, et je
 " souhaite que vous en temoigniez ma satisfaction a tous les braves
 " gëns, qui se sont distinguez dans cette occasion. Le secretaire
 " d'etat Craggs a ordre de vous informer plus au long de mes inten-
 " tions mais j'ai voulu vous assurer moi même que je suis, Monsieur
 " le Chevalier Byng.

" A Hampton-court,
 " ce 23 d'Aout, 1718.

" Votre bon ami,
 " GEORGE R."

[In English thus:]

" Sir George Byng,

" Although I have received no news from you directly, I am in-
 " formed of the victory obtained by the fleet under your command,
 " and would not therefore defer giving you that satisfaction which
 " must result from my approbation of your conduct. I give you my
 " thanks, and desire you will testify my satisfaction to all the brave
 " men who have distinguished themselves on this occasion. Mr.
 " Secretary Craggs has orders to inform you more fully of my inten-
 " tions; but I was willing myself to assure you, that I am

" Hampton-court,
 " Aug. 23, 1718.

" Your good friend,
 " GEORGE R."

* The earl of Sunderland, then at the head of the British administration, had a very great opinion of Sir George Byng's talents, and thought they qualified him equally for command at sea, and for the functions of a minister on shore: a circumstance of which he very ably availed himself, without intending to create a precedent.

been blocked up there by Rear-admiral Cammock, with a few ships which he had saved after the late engagement; and then sailed back again to Naples, where he arrived on the 2d of November; and soon after received a gracious letter from the emperor Charles VI. written with his own hand, * accompanied with a picture of his imperial majesty, set round with very large diamonds, as a mark of the grateful sense he had of the signal services rendered by his excellency to the house of Austria.

* Copy of the emperor's letter to the admiral, written by his own hand:

" Monsieur Amiral et Chevalier Byng,

" J'ai reçu avec beaucoup de satisfaction et de joie, par le porteur de celle cy la vôtre du 18me d'Aout. Quand je scu que vous etiez nommé de sa majesté le roi vôtre maître pour commander sa flotte dans la Méditerranée, je conceu d'abord toutes les bonnes espérances. Le glorieux succès pourtant les a en quelque manière surpassés. Vous avez en cette occasion donné des preuves d'une valeur, conduite, et zèle pour la commune cause très singulière; la gloire que vous en résulte est bien grande, mais aussi en rien moindre ma reconnaissance, comme vous l'expliquera plus le compte de Hamilton. Comptez toujours sur la continuation de ma reconnaissance, et de mon affection priant Dieu qu'il vous ait en sa sainte garde.

" A Vienne, ce 22me

" Octobre, 1718.

" CHARLES."

" Admiral Sir George Byng,

" I have received with a great deal of joy and satisfaction, by the bearer of this, yours of the 18th of August. As soon as I knew you was named by the king your master to command his fleet in the Mediterranean, I conceived the greatest hopes imaginable from that very circumstance. The glorious success you have had surpasses, however, my expectations. You have given, upon this occasion, very singular proofs of your courage, conduct, and zeal for the common cause: the glory you obtain from thence is indeed great, and yet my gratitude falls nothing short thereof, as Count Hamilton will fully inform you. You may always depend upon the continuance of my thankfulness and affection towards you: may God have you always in his holy keeping.

" Vienna, October 22,

" OMS. 1718.

" CHARLES."

As for the prizes that had been taken, they were sent to Port Mahon, where by some accident the Royal Philip took fire, and blew up, with most of the crew on board; but the admiral had been before set a-shore in Sicily, with some other prisoners of distinction, where he died soon after of his wounds. *

The Spanish court, excessively provoked at this unexpected blow, which had in a manner totally destroyed the naval force they had been at so much pains to raise, were not slow in expressing their resentments. On the 1st of September Rear-admiral Guevara, with some ships under his command, entered the port of Cadiz, and made himself master of all the English ships that were there; and at the same time all the effects of the English merchants were seized in Malaga and other ports of Spain, which, as soon as it was known here, produced reprisals on our part. † But it is now time to leave the Mediterranean, and the affairs of Spain, in order to give an account of what passed in the northern seas. A.D
1718

A resolution having been taken, as before observed, to send a strong squadron to the Baltic, it was put under the command of Sir John Norris and Rear-admiral Mighels, who, with ten sail of the line of battle, left Sole-bay on the 1st of May, having eighteen merchant-ships under their convoy; and on the 14th arrived safely at Copenhagen, where the same day Sir John Norris had an audience of his Danish majesty, by whom he was very graciously received; and, soon after, he sailed, in conjunction with the Danish fleet, to the coast of Sweden, where the king found himself obliged to lay up his ships in his own harbours, and to take all possible precautions for their security. ‡ That monarch, however, was far

* Lediard's Naval History, vol. ii. p. 881. Annals of King George, vol. v. Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. iv.

† Annals of King George, vol. v. p. 108.

‡ Oldmixon's History of England, vol. ii. p. 660. Lediard's Naval

from being idle, notwithstanding he was sensible of the great superiority of his enemies; but endeavoured to provide, in the best manner he was able, for his own security, by making a peace with the czar, and in the mean time turning his arms against the king of Denmark in Norway, which kingdom he entered with an army of thirty thousand men, in two bodies, one commanded by General Arenfelt, and the other by himself in person. *

He had all the success in this expedition that he could wish, especially the season of the year considered; for it was in the depth of winter that he penetrated into that frozen country, where, at the siege of Frederickshall, he was killed by a cannon bullet, about nine in the evening, on the 30th of November, 1718. The death of this enterprising monarch gave quite a new turn to the affairs in the north, and particularly freed us from all apprehensions on that side. Before this extraordinary event happened, Sir John Norris had returned with the fleet under his command to England, where he safely arrived in the latter end of the month of October. †

There remains only one transaction more of this year, which in a work of this kind requires to be mentioned; and it is the account we promised to give of the reduction of the pirates. Captain Wood Rogers, having been appointed governor of the Bahama Islands, sailed for Providence, which was to be the seat of his government, on the 11th of April; and, after a short and easy passage, arriving there, he took possession of the town of Nassau, the fort belonging to it, and of the whole island, the people receiving him with all imaginable joy, and many of the

History, vol. ii. p. 373. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. lxiv. p. 624.

* *Voltaire, Histoire de Charles XII. Roi du Suede*, liv. viii. *Gen. Gordon's History of Peter the Great*, vol. ii. p. 155. *De la Mottraye's Travels*, vol. ii. chap. xiii.

† *Lediard's Naval History*, vol. ii. p. 374.

pirates submitting immediately.* He proceeded soon after in forming a council, and settling the civil government of those islands, appointing civil and military officers, raising militia, and taking every other step necessary for procuring safety at home, and security from any thing that might be attempted from abroad, in which, by degrees, he succeeded. Some of the pirates, 'tis true, rejected at first all terms, and did a great deal of mischief on the coast of Carolina; but when they saw that Governor Rogers had thoroughly settled himself at Providence, and that the inhabitants of the Bahama Islands found themselves obliged through interest to be honest, they began to doubt of their situation, and thought proper to go and beg that mercy which at first they refused. So that by the 1st of July, 1719, to which day the king's proclamation had been extended, there were not above three or four vessels of those pirates who continued their trade, and two of them being taken, and their crews executed, the rest dispersed out of fear, and became thereby less terrible.†

Thus, in a short time, and chiefly through the steady and prudent conduct of Governor Rogers, this herd of villains was in some measure dissolved, who for many years had frightened the West Indies, and the northern colonies; coming at last to be so strong, that few merchant-men were safe, and withal so cruel and barbarous, that slavery among the Turks was preferable to falling into their hands. It had been happy for us, if the management of the Spanish guarda costas had been committed to the care of some man of like spirit, who might have

* Annals of King George, vol. iii. p. 330. Salmon's Chronological Historian, vol. ii. p. 36. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. lxxiv. p. 579.

† This Captain Wood Rogers made the tour of the globe, in the famous expedition from Bristol, in the Duke and Duchess.

delivered the merchants from being plundered, without involving the nation in a war. *

The parliament met on the 11th of November, and one of the first things they went upon, was the affair of Spain, which had indeed engrossed all public conversation, from the time of the stroke given to their fleet in the Mediterranean; some looking upon that as one of the noblest exploits since the revolution, but others considered it in quite another light. † And when an address was moved for to justify that measure, it was warmly opposed by the dukes of Buckingham, Devonshire, and Argyle; the earls of Nottingham, Cowper, Orford, and Ilay; the lords North, Grey, and Harcourt, in the house of peers; and by Mr. Shippen, Mr. Freeman, Sir Thomas Hanmer, Horatio Walpole, Esq. and Robert Walpole, Esq. in the house of commons; but without effect. ‡ On the 19th of the same month, the house of commons voted thirteen thousand five hundred seamen for the service of the year 1719, at four pounds a month; and at the same time granted one hundred eighty seven thousand six hundred and thirty-eight pounds seventeen shillings and six-pence, for the ordinary of the navy; and that we may range all the sums given under the same head, it may not be amiss to observe, that, on the 19th of January, the house of commons granted twenty-five thousand pounds for the half pay of sea-officers. §

On the 17th of December, 1718, a declaration of war in form was published against the crown of Spain; || as to the expediency of which, many bold things were said in

* Lediard's Naval History, vol. ii. p. 873, 874. Tindal. Oldmixon.

† Chandler's Debates, vol. ii. p. 182, 183.

‡ Oldmixon's History of England, vol. ii. p. 668. Historical Register, for 1718, p. 413.

§ Annals of King George, vol. v. p. 166. Historical Register, for 1718, p. 423. Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 578.

|| Annals of King George, vol. v. p. 69.

the house of commons, especially with regard to the pretensions, and the intentions of those who made this war; for the ministry insisted strongly, that it was made in favour of trade, and upon repeated complaints from the merchants. It was urged by a great speaker, that the ministers had shewn no great concern for the trade and interest of the nation, since it appeared by the answer of a secretary-of-state to the Marquis de Monteleon's letter, that they would have passed by the violations of the treaties of commerce, provided Spain had accepted the terms of the quadruple alliance; and, that his majesty did not seek to aggrandize himself by any new acquisition, but was rather inclined to sacrifice something of his own, to procure the general quiet and tranquillity. That nobody could yet tell how far that sacrifice was to extend; but certainly it was a very uncommon piece of condescension. Another member went yet farther, and made use of his favourite expression, insinuating, 'that this war seemed to be calculated for another meridian; but wrapped up the *inuendo* so dexterously, that no exception was taken to it. The ministry, however, continued the pursuit of their own scheme, in spite of opposition, and took such vigorous measures for obliging Spain to accept the terms assigned her by the quadruple alliance, that she lost all patience, and resolved to attempt any thing that might either free her from this necessity, or serve to express her resentments against such as endeavoured to impose it upon her; and with this view she drew together a great number of transports at Cadiz and Corunna.*

The late earl of Stair, who was then our minister at the court of France, despatched the first certain intelligence of the designs of Spain; which were, to have sent a considerable body of troops, under the command of the late duke of Ormond, into the west of England; upon this, the

A.D.
1719.

* Chandler's Debates, vol. v. p. 190, 191. Annals of King George, vol. v. p. 235.

most effectual methods were taken here for defeating that scheme. A fleet was immediately ordered to be gotten ready to put to sea; a proclamation issued for apprehending James Butler, late duke of Ormond, with a promise of five thousand pounds to the person that should seize him; and an embargo was laid on all shipping.* These precautions were attended with such success, and the fleet was fitted out with so much expedition, that on the 5th of April Sir John Norris sailed from Spithead to the westward, with nine men-of-war; and on the 29th, the earl of Berkley sailed from St. Helen's, with seven other men-of-war to join him, which he did the next day.†

The government likewise took some other very salutary measures to oppose this intended invasion of the Spaniards. The troops in the west of England, where it was conjectured they designed to land, were reinforced by several regiments quartered in other parts of the kingdom, and four battalions were sent for over from Ireland, and were landed at Minehead and Bristol; while, at the same time, the allies of his majesty were desired to get in readiness the succours, which by several treaties they stood engaged to furnish in case of a rebellion, or, if the British dominions should be invaded by any foreign power. Accordingly, about the middle of April, two battalions of Switzers, in the service of the States-general, arrived in the river Thames; and about the same time three battalions of Dutch troops, making together the full complement of men which Holland was obliged to furnish, landed in the north of England. But by this time came certain advice, that the Spanish fleet designed for this expedition, consisting of

* Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 583. Oldmixon's History of England, vol. ii. p. 677. See the proclamation in the Historical Register, for 1719, p. 156.

† M. de St. Philippe Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire, de l'Espagne, vol. iii. p. 354, 355, 356. Lediard's Naval History, vol. ii. p. 882. Annals of King George, vol. v. p. 233. Historical Register, for 1719, p. 162, 163.

five men-of-war, and about forty transports, having on board the duke of Ormond, and upwards of five thousand men, a great quantity of ammunition, spare arms, and one million of pieces of eight, which sailed from Cadiz on the 23d of February, O. S. being on the 28th of that month about fifty leagues to the westward of Cape Finisterre, met with a violent storm, which lasted forty-eight hours, and entirely dispersed them.* Thus, this design of the Spaniards, whatever it was, became abortive.

What loss they met with is uncertain; but several of their vessels returned to the ports of Spain in a very shattered condition. A very small part, however, of this embarkation, had somewhat a different fortune; for the earls of Marishal and Seaforth, and the marquis of Tullibardin, with about four hundred men, mostly Spaniards, on board three frigates and five transports, landed in the shire of Ross in Scotland, where they were joined by fifteen or sixteen hundred Scots, and had instructions to wait the duke of Ormond's orders, and the account of his being landed in England. But the whole design being quashed by the dispersion of the Spanish fleet, the Highland troops were defeated at Glenshiel, and the auxiliary Spaniards surrendered at discretion.† They had met with a check before at Donan Castle, which was secured by his majesty's ships, the Worcester, Enterprize, and Flamborough, the castle being blown up, and the greatest part of their ammunition taken or destroyed.‡

It may be proper, in this place, to take notice, that we acted now in such close conjunction with France, that the regent declared war against his cousin the king of Spain;

* Oldmixon's History of England, vol. ii. p. 678. Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 584. Annals of King George, vol. v. p. 250. *Mercurie Historique et Politique*, tom. lxxvi. p. 474, 574.

† Annals of King George, vol. v. p. 251. Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, *ubi supra*. Salmon's Chronological Historian, vol. ii. p. 89. Historical Register, for 1719, p. 15.

and though Marshal Villars, and some other officers of great rank, refused, from a point of honour, to lead an army against a grandson of France; yet Marshal Berwick, who, by the victory of Almanza, fixed that prince upon his throne, accepted the command of the army which was appointed to invade his territories, in order to force him to such conditions as were thought requisite for establishing the general tranquillity of Europe. Many people here suspected that this war would produce no great effects; but it proved quite otherwise; for the Marquis de Silly advanced in the month of April as far as Port Passage, where he found six men-of-war just finished, upon the stocks, all which, prompted thereto by Colonel Stanhope, afterwards earl of Harrington, he burned, together with timber, masts, and naval stores, to the value of half a million sterling; which was a greater real loss to the Spaniards than that they sustained by our beating their fleet. Soon after, the duke of Berwick besieged Fontarabia, both which actions shewed, that the French were actually in earnest.*

While the Spaniards were pleasing themselves with chimerical notions of invasions it was impossible to effect against us, our admiral in the Mediterranean was distressing them effectually; for, having early in the spring sailed from Port Mahon to Naples, he there adjusted every thing for the reduction of Sicily, in which he acted with such zeal, and what he did was attended with so great success, that not only the imperial army was transported into the island, and so well supplied with all things necessary from our fleet, which at the same time attended and disturbed all the motions of the enemy's army, that it may be truly said, the success of that expedition was as much owing to the English admiral, as to

* *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. lxxvi. p. 535. *Annals of King George*, vol. v. p. 256. *Historical Register*, for 1719, p. 126.

the German general; and that the English fleet did no less service than the army. To enter into all the particulars of this Sicilian expedition, would take up much more room than I have to spare; and would, besides, oblige me to digress from my proper subject, since the motions of a fleet attending a land army, for the service of the emperor, cannot be, strictly speaking, thought a part of the British naval history; * for which reasons I shall speak of it as concisely as may be.

There is, however, one circumstance that deserves to be made known to posterity, and which I will not therefore omit. The imperialists having taken the city of Messina, on the 8th of August, 1719, the admiral landed a body of English grenadiers, who very quickly made themselves masters of the tower of Faro, by which, having opened a free passage for the ships, he came to an anchor in Paradise road; and this being perceived by the officers of the Spanish men-of-war in the Mole, who began to despair of getting out to sea, they unbent their sails, and unrigged their ships, and resolved to wait their fate, which they knew must be the same with that of the citadel; and this gave great satisfaction to the admiral, who now found himself at liberty to employ his ships in other services, which had been for a long time employed in blocking up that port. †

But, while all things were in this prosperous condition,

* The reader may inform himself fully as to all these circumstances, by perusing the Account of the Expedition to Sicily, which I have cited so often, and which is a very ample history of that memorable war, that embarrassed us so much while it continued; and which has been buried in obscurity ever since, except as to the promise it occasioned about Gibraltar; of which we shall hear more than once, before we conclude this volume; and perhaps we may, some time or other, find the history of that promise no unuseful piece of intelligence.

† M. de St. Philippe Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire de l'Espagne, tom. iii. p. 411, 412, 413.

a dispute arose among the allies about the disposition of the Spanish ships before-mentioned, which, upon taking the citadel, would of course fall into their hands. Signior Scrampi, general of the king of Sardinia's gallies, first started the question, and claimed the two best of sixty, and the other of sixty-four guns, new ships, which had belonged to his master, and were seized by the Spaniards in the port of Palermo. He grounded his right on the convention made at Vienna the 29th of December, 1718, in which it was said, " That as to the ships belonging to the king of Sardinia, if they be taken in port, they shall be restored him ; but that this shall be referred to Admiral Byng to answer." To this the admiral replied, " That this convention having been only a groundwork for another to be made at Naples, he could be directed by none but that which had been made in consequence thereof, in April, 1719, between the viceroy of Naples, the Marquis de Breille, minister of Sardinia, and himself, in which no mention is made of those ships ; and as for the reference to his opinion, he did freely declare he could not think the king of Sardinia had any shadow of title to them ; that they had been taken by the enemy, were now fitted out and armed at their expense, and under their colours ; that they would put out to sea if he did not hinder them, and attack all English ships they met with, and, if stronger, take them ; so that he could not consider them in any other light than as they were the ships of an enemy." Count de Merci next put in his claim for the emperor, alledging, " That as those ships would be found within the port of a town taken by his master's arms, according to the right of nations they belonged to him." The admiral replied, " That it was owing to his keeping two squadrons on purpose, and at a great hazard, to watch and observe those ships, that they were now confined within the port ; which if he was to withdraw, they would still be

“able to go to sea, and he should have a chance of meeting with and taking them.” *

But reflecting afterwards with himself, that possibly the garrison might capitulate for the safe return of those ships into Spain, which he was determined never to suffer; that, on the other hand, the right of possession might breed an inconvenient dispute at that critical juncture among the princes concerned; and, if it should be at length determined that they did not belong to England, it were better they belonged to nobody; he proposed to count de Merci to erect a battery, and destroy them as they lay in the bason; who urged, that he had no orders concerning those ships, and must write to Vienna for instructions about it. The admiral replied with some warmth, that he could not want a power to destroy every thing that belonged to the enemy, and insisted on it with so much firmness, that the general, being concerned in interest not to carry matters to an open misunderstanding, caused a battery to be erected, notwithstanding the protestations of Signor Scrampi, which, in a little time, sunk and destroyed them, and thereby compleated the ruin of the naval power of Spain. †

The imperial court had formed a design of making themselves masters again of Sardinia, out of which they had been driven, as is before observed, by the Spaniards; but our admiral judged it more for the service of the house of Austria, that this army should be immediately transported into Sicily. In order to effect this, and at the same time to procure artillery for carrying on the siege

* Sir George Byng understood the spirit of his instructions, and, without being inquisitive into the nature of our quarrel with Spain, resolved to use his best endeavours to put it out of the Spaniards' power to hurt us; and, in doing this, we shall see he could be peremptory, as well as complaisant, to our allies.

† Expedition to Sicily, p. 62. Lediard's Naval History, vol. ii. p. 385. Columna Rostrata, p. 311.

of the citadel of Messina, he went over to Naples; where, finding that the government was absolutely unable to furnish the military stores that were wanting, he very generously granted to his imperial majesty the cannon out of the British prizes, and procured, upon his own credit, powder and other ammunition from Genoa; and soon after went thither himself, in order to hasten the embarkation of the troops, which was made sooner than could have been expected, merely through the diligence of the admiral, and in spite of the delays affected by the then count, afterwards bashaw Bonneval, who was appointed to command them. *

After the citadel of Messina surrendered, Sir George Byng re-embarked a great part of the army, and landed them upon another part of the island, by which speedy and unexpected conveyance they distressed the enemy to such a degree, that the marquis de Lede, who commanded the Spanish forces in chief, proposed to evacuate the island, to which the Germans were very well inclined; but our admiral protested against it, and declared, that the Spanish troops should never be permitted to quit Sicily and return home, till a general peace was concluded. In this, Sir George certainly acted as became a British admiral; and after having done so many services for the imperialists, insisted on their doing what was just with respect to us, and holding the Spanish troops in the uneasy situation they now were, till they gave ample satisfaction to the court of London, as well as to that of Vienna. It must, however, be considered, that, in the first place, the admiral had the detention of the Spaniards in his own hands, since the Germans could do nothing in that matter without him; and, on the other hand, our

* This man, whose turbulent disposition led him first to fight against his country, was now out of humour in the German service, and at length fled to the Turks. But Sir George knowing his own business perfectly, passed over punctilios in order to accomplish it.

demands on the court of Spain were as much for the interest of the common cause as for our own; so that though the steadiness of Admiral Byng deserved commendation, yet there seemed to be no great praises due to the German complaisance. *

The more effectually to humble Spain, and at the same time to convince the whole world that we could not only contrive but execute an invasion, a secret design was formed for sending a fleet and army to the coasts of Spain, which was very successfully performed; and, on the 21st of September, 1719, Vice-admiral Mighels, with a strong squadron of his majesty's ships under his command, and the transports, having on board the forces commanded by the late Lord Viscount Cobham, consisting of about six thousand men, sailed from St. Helen's; and the first account we had of them is comprised in the following letter, which, indeed, contains the only good account that was ever published of this expedition; and therefore I presume the reader will not be displeased to see it. †

A.D.
1719.

" His excellency the Lord Viscount Cobham, with the
" men-of-war commanded by Vice-admiral Mighels, and
" the transports having the forces on board, arriving on
" the coast of Galicia, kept cruizing three days in the
" station appointed for Captain Johnson to join them;
" but having no news of him, and the danger of lying on
" the coast at this season of the year with transports,
" rendering it necessary to take some measures of acting
" without him, and the wind offering fair for Vigo, his
" lordship took the resolution of going thither.

" On the 29th of September, O. S. they entered the
" harbour of Vigo, and the grenadiers, being immediately

* This was esteemed a mighty service by one party in England, and treated with very great contempt by another.

† Lediard's Naval History, vol. ii. p. 884. Historical Register, for 1719, p. 37. Columna Rostrata, p. 309. Mercure Historique et Politique, tom. lxxvii. p. 456.

“ landed about three miles from the town, drew up on the
“ beach; some peasants fired from the mountains at a
“ great distance, but without any execution. His lord-
“ ship went a-shore with the grenadiers, and the regi-
“ ments followed as fast as the boats could carry them.
“ That night, and the following day and night, the
“ troops lay upon their arms. In the mean while pro-
“ visions for four days were brought a-shore, and guards
“ were posted in several avenues to the distance of above
“ a mile up the country.

“ On the 1st of October his lordship moved, with the
“ forces, nearer the town, and encamped at a strong post,
“ with the left to the sea, near the village of Boas, and
“ the right extended towards the mountains. This mo-
“ tion of the army, and some parties that were ordered
“ to view the town and citadel, gave the enemy some
“ apprehensions, that preparations were making to attack
“ them; whereupon they set fire to the carriages of the
“ cannon of the town, nailed those cannon, and by all
“ their motions seemed to be determined to abandon the
“ town to the care of the magistrates and inhabitants,
“ and to retire with the regular troops into the citadel;
“ whereupon the Lord Cobham sent to summon the town
“ to surrender, which the magistrates made no difficulty
“ of doing; and the same night his lordship ordered Bri-
“ gadier Honywood, with eight hundred men, to take
“ post in the town, and Fort St. Sebastian, which the
“ enemy had also abandoned.

“ On the 3d a bomb-vessel began to bombard the cita-
“ del, but with little execution, by reason of the great
“ distance. That evening the large mortars and the co-
“ horn-mortars were landed at the town; between forty
“ and fifty of them, great and small, placed on a battery
“ under cover of Fort St. Sebastian, began in the night
“ to play upon the citadel, and continued it four days
“ with great success. The fourth day his lordship ordered

“ the battering cannon to be landed, and, with some
“ others found in the town, to be placed on the battery of
“ Fort St. Sebastian. At the same time his lordship sent
“ the governor a summons to surrender, signifying, that,
“ if he staid till our battery of cannon was ready, he
“ should have no quarter. Colonel Ligonier was sent
“ with this message, but found the governor Don Joseph
“ de los Cereos had the day before been carried out of the
“ castle wounded; the lieutenant-colonel, who commanded
“ in his absence, desired leave and time to send to the
“ marquis de Risburg at Tuy for his directions; but,
“ being told the hostilities should be continued if they
“ did not send their capitulation without any delay, they
“ soon complied.” *

The capitulation consisted of ten articles, by which the garrison were permitted to march out with the honours of war, and the place, with all its works, magazines, and whatever they contained either of ammunition or provisions, were delivered up to his excellency the Lord Cobham.

On the 10th of the same month, in the morning, the garrison marched out, consisting of four hundred and sixty-nine men, officers included, having had above three hundred killed or wounded by our bombs. The place, it is said, cost us but two officers, and three or four men killed. There were in the town about sixty pieces of large iron cannon, which the enemy abandoned, and these they nailed and damaged as much as their time would give them leave; and in the citadel were forty-three pieces, of which fifteen were brass, and two large mortars, besides above two thousand barrels of powder, and several chests of arms, amounting in the whole to about eight thousand musquets; all which stores and brass ordnance

* This relation was published in the London Gazette, dated Whitehall, October 2, 1719.

were lodged there from on board the ships that were to have visited Great Britain in the preceding spring, and the very troops that gave up Vigo were part also of those corps which were to have been employed in that expedition; seven ships were seized in the harbour, three of which were fitting up for privateers, one of which was to carry twenty-four guns; the rest were trading vessels. *

Vigo being thus taken, the Lord Cobham ordered major-general Wade to embark with a thousand men on board four transports, and to sail to the upper end of the bay of Vigo; which he accordingly did on the 14th, and, having landed his men, marched to Ponta-Vedra, which place surrendered without opposition, the magistrates of the town meeting them with the keys.

In this place were taken two forty-eight pounders, four twenty-four pounders, six eight pounders, and four mortars, all brass, besides seventy pieces of iron cannon, two thousand small arms, some bombs, &c. all which, except the twenty-four pounders, were embarked, and Major-general Wade returned with his booty and troops to Vigo on the 23d. †

The next day the Lord Cobham, finding it would be impossible for him to maintain his ground any longer in Spain, ordered the forces to be embarked, as likewise the cannon, &c. which being done by the 27th, he sailed that day for England, where he arrived the 11th of November, having lost in the whole expedition about three hundred of his men, who were either killed, died, or deserted. ‡

* Oldmixon's History of England, vol. ii. p. 686. Annals of King George, vol. vi. p. 55. Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 604. Mercure Historique et Politique, tom. lxxvii. p. 579.

† M. de St. Philippe Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire de l'Espagne, tom. iii. p. 409.

‡ Columna Rostrata, p. 311. Historical Register, for 1719, p. 387. Lediard's Naval History, vol. ii. p. 885.

There is yet another expedition, of which we must take some notice before we shut up the transactions of this year, and it is that of Sir John Norris into the Baltic. Things had now changed their face in the north; the Swedes, since the death of their king, were become our friends, and the great design of sending this fleet was to protect these new friends against our old allies the Russians. The queen of Sweden was extremely well pleased on the receiving so seasonable a succour. In the beginning of September, Sir John Norris, with his squadron, joined the Swedish fleet, and, on the 6th of the same month, arrived at the Dahlen near Stockholm, where her majesty's consort, the king of Sweden, did him the honour to dine on board his ships.* This junction of the English and Swedish fleets broke all the measures of the czar, Peter the Great, who had ruined the Swedish coast in a cruel manner, but was now forced to retire with his fleet into the harbour of Revel.†

The Lord Carteret, now earl of Granville, was then ambassador at Stockholm; and, in conjunction with Sir John Norris, laboured assiduously to bring the conferences at the island of Aland to a happy conclusion; but the czar not being at that time disposed to think of pacific measures, they could not prevail; so that, about the middle of September, the conferences broke up. All this time the fleet continued near Stockholm; but the winter season coming on, and there being no reason to fear any farther attacks on the Swedes, as the Danes had accepted his Bri-

* Oldmixon's History of England, vol. ii. p. 680. Annals of King George, vol. vi. p. 25. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. lxxv. p. 300.

† The czar had more than one English admiral in his service, and they honestly represented the risk he ran of seeing the naval force, which was the creature of his own brain, and which he nursed with so much care, strangled, as soon as brought forth, by an unequal contest with a British fleet, which he might avoid without any dishonour.

tannic majesty's mediation, Sir John Norris thought of returning home, and accordingly sailed from Elsenap on the 27th of October, with a large fleet of merchantmen under his convoy, and safely arrived at Copenhagen on the 6th of November, where he was received by his Danish majesty with all imaginable marks of distinction and esteem. It must indeed be allowed, to the honour of this worthy admiral's memory, that, whatever views the ministry might have at home, he consulted the nation's glory abroad, and, by preserving the balance of power in the north, rendered the highest service to his country. On the 12th of the same month the fleet sailed from Copenhagen, and on the 17th met with a dreadful storm, which damaged several ships, but destroyed none. Toward the close of the month they arrived safe, and on the last day of November Sir John came to London, after having managed with great reputation, and finished with much expedition, an enterprize which, in less able hands, would either have brought discredit on our naval power, or involved the nation in a bloody war; but, by his steady and prudent conduct they were both avoided, and a stop put to those troubles, which for many years had embroiled the north. *

His majesty returned from Hanover about the middle of November, 1719, and the parliament met the latter end of the same month, when there were very warm debates upon the subject of the Sicilian expedition; where many great men, and good patriots, thought our fleet had done too much for the Germans, and too little for themselves. On the other hand, the friends of the ministry maintained, that their measures were right; that the giving Sicily to the emperor, and Sardinia to the duke of Savoy, would effectually fix the balance of power in Italy, and free us,

* Lediard's *Naval History*, vol. ii. p. 884. Tindal's *Continuation of Rapin*, vol. ii. p. 589. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. lxxvii. p. 681.

and the rest of Europe, from the apprehensions created by the mighty naval power of Spain.

It is not, strictly speaking, my business, and to say the truth, the compass of this work will not allow me to enlarge much upon it, if an inquiry into the politics of those times was more so than it is; but thus much I think is to be said, in justice to Sir George Byng; that the question does not at all respect his behaviour, since the merit of an officer consists in executing his orders, for which alone he is answerable, and not at all for the rectitude of those orders. If this be not allowed, we must never hope to be well served at sea, since the admiral who takes upon him to interpret his instructions, will never want excuses for his management, be it what it will; and if this proposition be once granted, Sir George Byng must be allowed to have done his duty, as well as any admiral ever did; for to his conduct it was entirely owing that Sicily was subdued, and his catholic majesty forced to accept the terms prescribed to him by the quadruple alliance. He it was who first enabled the Germans to set foot in that island; by him they were supported in all they did; and by his councils they were directed, or they had otherwise been again expelled the island, even after the taking of Messina. There were as warm debates about our proceedings in the Baltic, which, whether they were right or wrong, ought not to affect the character of the admiral, who punctually executed his instructions, and performed all that was, or could be, expected from him; neither was this denied by such as opposed the ministry, and whose sentiments were at this time over-ruled in parliament.*

* It is a great misfortune in this country, that in all party disputes, in which the only real object is power, political, and sometimes religious systems are adopted, and maintained with such plausibility on both sides, that an honest inquirer is hard put to it to find, and when he has found, runs the hazard of being abused, if he ventures to declare for truth.

On the 2d of December, the naval supplies for the ensuing year were settled. Thirteen thousand five hundred men were allowed for the service of 1720, and the sum of four pounds *per* month as usual, granted for that purpose; two hundred seventeen thousand nine hundred eighteen pounds ten shillings and eight pence, was given for the ordinary of the navy, and seventy-nine thousand seven hundred and twenty-three pounds, for the extraordinary repairs. Soon after a demand was made for a considerable sum, expended in the necessary service of the last year, beyond what was provided for by parliament; and after great debates, in which those then in opposition took great freedoms, a vote was obtained on the 15th of January, for three hundred seventy-seven thousand five hundred sixty-one pounds six shillings and nine-pence halfpenny, in discharge of those expenses. In the beginning of the month of February, the king of Spain acceded to the quadruple alliance; * and, as a consequence thereof, a cessation of arms was soon after published, which was quickly followed by a convention in Sicily for the evacuation of that island, and also of the island of Sardinia; and thus the house of Austria got possession of the kingdom of Sicily by means of the British fleet. But, what return the imperial court made Great Britain for these favours, we shall see in its proper place. About the same time, a messenger despatched by the then Lord Carteret, from Stockholm, brought the instrument of the treaty of friendship and alliance concluded between his majesty and the crown of Sweden. †

A.D. 1720. The czar of Muscovy remaining still at war with that crown, and having entered into measures that, in the opinion of our court, were calculated to overturn the

* Lamberti, tom. x. Appendix, 59, 60, 61, together with his catholic majesty's act of acceptance.

† Annals of King George, vol. vi. p. 98. Historical Register, for 1720, p. 5. Salmon's Chronological Historian, vol. ii. p. 94. Lamberti, tom. x. Appendix, No. 10.

balance of power in the north; it was resolved to send Sir John Norris once more with a fleet of twenty men-of-war under his command, into those seas. The design of this was, to secure the Swedes from feeling the czar's resentment, or from being forced to accept such hard and unequal conditions as he might endeavour to impose. The better to understand this, it will be requisite to observe, that the Swedes had made some great alterations in their government, not only by asserting their crown to be elective, but by making choice of the prince of Hesse, consort to the queen their sovereign, for their king, on her motion and request; notwithstanding the claim of the duke of Holstein, her sister's son, to the succession. This young prince the czar was pleased to take under his protection, and proposed to the Swedes, that if they would settle the crown upon him, his czarish majesty would give him his daughter, with the provinces conquered from Sweden, by way of dowry; but, in case this was refused, he threatened to pursue the war more vigorously than ever, and for that purpose began to make very great naval preparations. *

As our old league with Sweden was now renewed, the British fleet, on the 16th of April, † sailed for the Baltic; in the beginning of the month of May they were joined, on the coast of Sweden, by a squadron of ships belonging to that crown; and, on the 24th of the same month, being near the coast of Aland, they were joined by seven Swedish men-of-war more, under the command of Admiral Wachmeister. On the 26th it was resolved, that the fleet should proceed toward the coast of Revel; which saved the Swedes from feeling at that juncture any marks of the czar's displeasure. In the mean time, our minister at the

* Mr. de la Motiaye's Travels, vol. ii. chap. xiv. He was upon the spot in the conferences on the isle of Aland.

† Oldmixon's History of England, vol. ii. p. 695. Lediard's Naval History, vol. ii. p. 287. Annals of King George, vol. vi. p. 188.

court of Denmark having prepared that monarch for an accommodation with Sweden, Lord Carteret, who was our minister at Stockholm, negotiated, and brought to a happy conclusion the treaty of peace between the two crowns, under our mediation; and went afterwards to Copenhagen to present it to his Danish majesty, of whom he had an audience on the 29th of June, 1720, for that purpose.

His lordship continued for some time after at the Danish court, where he was treated with unusual marks of esteem and respect, by a prince who was allowed to be one of the wisest crowned heads in Europe; and who, as a signal testimony of his favour to that accomplished statesman, took a sword from his side, richly set with diamonds, to the value of five thousand pounds, of which he made a present to his lordship. *

The season for action being over, Sir John Norris, on the 8th of September, sailed with the squadron under his command to Stockholm. The new king of Sweden did him the honour to dine with him on board his ship, accompanied by Mr. Finch, the British envoy, and the Polish minister Prince Lubomirski, and other persons of distinction; and his excellency soon after returned with the squadron under his command to England. † The czar bore this interposition of ours very impatiently, and his ministers did not fail to impute it wholly to the interest which his majesty, as a German prince, had to compromise affairs with Sweden, with relation to the acquisition he had made of the duchies of Bremen and Verden. However, thus much is very certain, that whatever benefit his majesty, as elector of Hanover, might draw from the

* Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. ii. p. 617. Historical Register, for 1720, p. 241. Oldmixon's History of England, vol. ii. p. 700. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. lxi. p. 36, 238.

† Lediard's Naval History, vol. ii. p. 888. Salmon's Chronological Historian, vol. ii. p. 103.

protection afforded to Sweden by the British fleet, this was a measure, as things then stood, entirely corresponding with the British interest ; and we had often interposed in the very same manner under former reigns, to prevent such conquests in the north as might be fatal to a commerce, upon the proper carrying on of which, in a great measure, depends almost all the other branches of our trade. The insinuations, therefore, of the czar had no great weight at the time, either with us, or with other powers, as appears by the conduct of Prussia and Denmark, both making separate treaties with Sweden, notwithstanding all the expostulations, remonstrances, and even threatenings of his czarish majesty to prevent it. * Neither is it at all impossible, that the very dread of that exorbitant power, to which that ambitious monarch aspired, might contribute as much to their taking that resolution, as any other motive whatever. †

His majesty having spent the summer in his German dominions, returned to Great Britain in the month of November ; and the parliament meeting on the 8th of December following, the proceedings of the whole year were laid before that august assembly ; in which it was insisted upon, that the money issued for the sea service had produced all the desired effects ; and that, as peace had been settled by the force of our arms in the Mediterranean a few months before, so it was highly probable that the very terror of our arms would cause the troubles of the north to subside in a few months to come. Upon these suggestions a considerable naval force was asked for the next year ; and though there was a good deal of opposition, and a great many bold speeches made, yet in the end the point was carried ; and, on the 19th of December,

* Lamberti, tom. x. Appendix, No. 11, 12. Rousset, tom. i. p. 373. *Le Droit Public de l'Europe*, chap. viii. p. 99.

† Oldmixon's *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 711. Tindal's *Continuation of Rapin*, vol. ii. p. 619.

the house of commons resolved, that ten thousand men be allowed for the sea service, for the year 1721, at four pounds a man per month, for thirteen months; that two hundred nineteen thousand forty-nine pounds fourteen shillings, be granted for the ordinary of the navy; and fifty thousand two hundred pounds for extra repairs for the same year.* This provision being made, it was resolved to send Sir John Norris, and Rear-admiral Hopson, with a squadron of thirteen men-of-war of the line, besides frigates and bomb-ketches, into the Baltic, to put an end to these disputes, which had already cost our allies so much blood, and ourselves so large a proportion of treasure, and which it was thought could not be soon settled any other way.

A.D. 1721. The czar having still in view the reduction of the Swedes to his own terms, was very early at sea with a large fleet, and, designing to strike a terror into the whole Swedish nation, he ravaged their coasts with incredible fury, to give it the softest name, committing such cruelties as were scarcely ever heard of among the most barbarous nations; yet the Swedes kept up their spirits, and depending on our protection, did not take any hasty measures, but insisted on certain mitigations, which by this firmness they at last obtained. In the middle of the month of April, Sir John Norris sailed from the Nore, and toward the latter end of the same month arrived at Copenhagen, where he was received with all imaginable marks of esteem; † soon after he continued his voyage for the coast of Sweden, where he was joined by a few Swedish ships. His appearance in those seas, and with such a force, produced greater consequences than were expected from it; for the czar doubting his own strength, and fearing, upon the loss of a battle, that his whole naval force would

* Historical Register, for 1721, p. 24, 25.

† Lediard's Naval History, vol. ii. p. 389. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. lxx. p. 715.

be destroyed, as he had seen of late to be the case of Spain, he began to be more inclinable to a peace, which was concluded at Neistadt, upon the 31st of August. *

This treaty having settled the czar's rights to the conquered provinces, and secured to the Swedes various immunities, and privileges, in order to bring them more readily to consent to such terms as they would have otherwise thought hard, satisfied in some measure both crowns. Sir John Norris continued all this time with his fleet in the neighbourhood of Stockholm, in order to give weight to the negotiations of Mr. Finch; and the peace being signed and ratified, he took leave of the Swedish court, and sailed for Copenhagen, where he arrived in the beginning of the month of October. On the 6th of the same month, he sailed, and arrived safely at the Nore on the 20th, † leaving the north in perfect quiet; and all its powers under a just sense of the seasonable interposition of Great Britain, in favour of that balance of power in those parts, which is of such high consequence to the tranquillity of Europe in general, as well as the particular advantage of each of the monarchs thus, not without much difficulty, reconciled.

At home, the disputes and uneasiness which had been occasioned by the execution of the South Sea scheme, kept the nation in a high ferment, and put the court under a necessity of altering its measures, and making some changes in the administration; among which, we may reckon the great alteration of the board of admiralty, which took place in the month of September, when his majesty was pleased to order letters patent to pass the great seal, constituting the right honourable James, earl of Berkley, Sir John Jennings, John Cockburn, and

* Lamberti, tom. x. Appendix, No. 15. Rousset, tom. i. p. 327. *Le Droit Public de l'Europe*, chap. viii. p. 103.

† Oldmixon's *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 726. Tindal's *Continuation of Rapin*, vol. iv. p. 650, 653. *Mercur Historique et Politique*, tom. lxxi. p. 599.

William Chetwynd, Esqrs. Sir John Norris, Sir Charles Wager, and Daniel Pulteney, Esq. commissioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral of Great Britain, &c. This appointment gave the most general satisfaction at that time; and it must be allowed by all who were well acquainted with their characters, that the board was never better settled than by these gentlemen, four of whom were as great seamen as any in this age; and the other three as well acquainted with the business of the office, and the duties of their post, as any that ever filled them.

The parliament met on the 19th of October, and on the 27th of the same month, the house of commons granted seven thousand men for the service of the sea, for the year 1722, at the usual rate of four pounds a man per month; and on the 2d of November, they resolved, that the sum of two hundred eighteen thousand seven hundred ninety-nine pound four shillings and seven pence, be granted for the ordinary of the navy for the same year.† This was a very moderate expense, and very agreeable to the situation of our affairs at that time, which had not been a little disordered by the large disbursements into which we had been drawn for many years past. It was not long, however, after this grant was made, before a new squadron was ordered to be got ready, consisting of thirteen very large ships, which squadron was to be commanded by Sir Charles Wager, and Rear-admiral Hosier. The destination of this armament was never certainly known; but the most probable account that has been given, is, that it was intended to chastise the Portuguese, for an insult offered by them to Mr. Wingfield and Mr. Roberts, two gentlemen of the factory at Lisbon, whose goods they seized, imprisoned their persons, and even went so far as to con-

* Historical Register, for 1721, p. 23. Oldmixon. Salmon's Chronological Historian, vol. ii. p. 114.

† Historical Register, for 1722, p. 10, 12.

demn them to be hanged, upon a very trifling pretence. *

The case was this : there is a law in Portugal, which forbids the exportation of any coin whatsoever out of that kingdom, upon pain of death ; but it was a law never insisted upon, and therefore to be thought obsolete, and, by custom, in a manner repealed ; which construction was justified by the transporting gold coin from Lisbon to other countries almost every day, and in such a manner, as the court could not be ignorant of it. What induced the Portuguese ministry to venture upon such an ill-timed severity, is not well known ; but the vigorous measures taken by our court, were certainly the properest methods that could be taken, to hinder their proceeding to execution. At the same time, our minister stated the case of those gentlemen in the fairest and fullest light, observing to the king of Portugal, that of all nations in Europe, the English least deserved to be thus used, because they took the largest quantity of the manufactures of Portugal, in exchange for their own, of which last the Portuguese also exported a great deal. That the balance of trade in our favour had been, and must be, always discharged in gold ; and that consequently these severe proceedings, if not remitted, must not only produce an immediate rupture between the two nations, but also hinder all commerce between them for the future. By degrees these representations were attended to, the merchants released, their goods restored, and the whole affair was amicably adjusted. Upon this, our naval armament was laid aside, and the mutual interest of the two nations, after this explanation, being better understood, the harmony between them was effectually restored, and this unlucky interruption of it buried on both sides in oblivion.

* Lediard's Naval History, vol. ii. p. 389. Oldmixon's History of England, vol. ii. p. 719.

We may, from this instance, discern how dangerous a thing it is, in any state, to suffer these sleeping laws to remain virtually, and yet not actually repealed; since, in certain conjunctures, there never will be wanting a sort of enterprising men, who will endeavour to make their advantage of such penal statutes, disguising their private views, under a specious pretence of pursuing public good. As, on the other hand, we cannot avoid observing, that the best way to secure justice to our subjects abroad, is always to keep up a considerable maritime force at home, that it may be known to all nations, with whom we have any dealings, that we are always in a situation to exact a speedy and ample satisfaction for any insults that are offered to our merchants, as believing it but equitable to employ in favour of our commerce, that power which is the result of it; which never can be attained, but by encouraging an extensive trade, and which never can decay or decline, if we do not suffer our neighbours to interfere therein to our prejudice, by not applying timely and effectual remedies upon their first invasions. But to return from these salutary cautions, to the thread of our narration.

A.D.
1722.

The pirates in the West Indies, who had received some check from the vigorous dispositions of Governor Rogers, and other commanders in those parts, began to take breath again, and by degrees grew so bold as even to annoy our colonies more than ever. This was owing to several causes; particularly to the encouragement they had met with of late from the Spaniards, and to the want of a sufficient force in the North American seas.* The merchants, finding themselves extremely distressed by a grievance that increased every day, made repeated

* * Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. Oldmixon's History of England, vol. ii. p. 724. Lediard's Naval History, vol. ii. p. 390.

representations, upon this head, to the government; upon which, fresh orders were sent to the officers of the navy cruising on the coast of Guinea, and in the West Indies, to exert themselves, with the utmost diligence, in crushing these enemies to mankind; and these injunctions had at length the desired effect. There was among these pirates, on the coast of Africa, one Roberts, a man whose parts deserved a better employment; he was an able seaman, and a good commander, and had with him two very stout ships, one commanded by himself, of forty guns, and one hundred and fifty-two men; the other of thirty-two guns, and one hundred and thirty-two men; and to complete his squadron, he soon added a third, of twenty-four guns, and ninety men: with this force, Roberts had done a great deal of mischief in the West Indies, before he sailed for Africa, where he likewise took abundance of prizes, till in the month of April, 1722, he was taken by the then captain, afterwards Sir Chaloner Ogle.

Captain Ogle was then in the *Swallow*, and was cruising off Cape Lopez, when he had intelligence of Roberts's being not far from him, and in consequence of this he went immediately in search of him, and soon after discovered the pirates in a very convenient bay, where the biggest and the least ship were upon the heel scrubbing.* Captain Ogle taking in his lower tier of guns, and lying at a distance, Roberts took him for a merchantman, and immediately ordered his consort *Skyrm* to slip his cable, and run out after him. Captain Ogle crowded all the sail he could to decoy the pirate to such a distance, that his consorts might not hear the guns, and then suddenly tacked, run out his lower tier, and gave the pirate a broad-side, by which their captain was killed; which so discour-

* See Captain, afterwards Admiral, Ogle's Letter to the Lords of the Admiralty, containing an exact Relation of this Transaction, dated the *Swallow*, in Cape Coast Road, Africa, April 5, 1722, in the *Historical Register*, for 1722, p. 344—347.

raged the crew, that after a brisk engagement, which lasted about an hour and a half, they surrendered. Captain Ogle returned then to the bay, hoisting the king's colours, under the pirate's black flag with a death's head in it. This prudent stratagem had the desired effect; for the pirates, seeing the black flag uppermost, concluded the king's ship had been taken, and came out full of joy to congratulate their consort on the victory. Their joy was, however, of no long continuance; for Captain Ogle gave him a very warm reception; and, though Roberts fought with the utmost bravery for nearly two hours, yet, being at last killed, the courage of his men immediately sunk, and both ships yielded. Captain Ogle carried these three prizes, with about one hundred and sixty men that were taken in them, to Cape Coast-castle, where they were instantly brought to their trials. Seventy-four were capitally convicted, of whom fifty-two were executed, and most of them hung in chains in several places, which struck a terror in that part of the world, as the taking several pirates in the West Indies, toward the latter end of the year, did in those seas.* But these successes were far from putting an end to the mischief; so that it was found necessary soon after to send several ships of war to the northern colonies and Jamaica, where by degrees they extirpated entirely this dangerous crew of robbers.

As this year was very barren in naval transactions, I think I am at liberty to take notice of an event that otherwise might seem of too little importance to be recorded. The case was this: The government had intelligence, that the emissaries of the pretender were very busy in carrying on their intrigues at several foreign courts, and that, for the greater expedition and security, they had fitted out a ship called the Resolution, which then lay in

* Oldmixon's History of England, vol. ii. p. 724. Lediard's Naval History, vol. ii. 891.

the Mole of Genoa. It was in the midst of autumn when this intelligence was received; upon which orders were immediately despatched to the captains of such of our men-of-war, as were cruizing in the Mediterranean, to seize and possess themselves of this vessel, which they accordingly did in the beginning of the month of November.* But it so happened, that most of her officers were at this juncture on shore, which obliged Mr. Davenant, his majesty's envoy extraordinary to that republic, to demand them of the senate and state of Genoa; but the senate were either so unwilling, or so dilatory in this affair, that the persons concerned had an opportunity, which they did not miss, of making their escape; and though they were a little unlucky in losing their ship, which was a pretty good one, yet they were very fortunate in saving themselves; since, if they had been taken, they would have been treated as rebels, or perhaps considered as pirates, as some people were in King William's time, who acted under a commission from King James II.

The parliament having met on the 9th of October, the house of commons, on the 24th of the same month, granted ten thousand men for the sea-service, at four pounds per man per month, for the year 1723; and on the 29th, they resolved, that two hundred and sixteen thousand three hundred and eighty-eight pounds fourteen shillings and eight-pence be allowed for the ordinary of the navy, for the same year;† and soon after the king was pleased to promote Sir George Walton, Knt. to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, in the room of Admiral Mighels, who was appointed to succeed Thomas Swanton, Esq. lately deceased, as comptroller of the navy; and Admiral Littleton dying the fifth of February, Rear-admiral Strick-

* *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. lxxiv. p. 132. Lediard's *Naval History*, vol. ii. p. 891. Oldmixon's *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 734.

† *Historical Register*, for 1722, p. 336.

land succeeded him as vice-admiral of the white; the other admirals taking place according to their seniority.*

The naval transactions of this year were, as I have already hinted, very inconsiderable; for though some great ships were put into commission, and there was once a design of fitting out a fleet, yet it was very soon after laid aside. But that we may not seem to pass by any thing that has the smallest relation to the subject of this work, we shall take notice of an account received about this time of an extraordinary hurricane at Jamaica, said to be the most remarkable that ever happened in that island; which account, as it is in itself equally curious and remarkable, so it is the more valuable, because not to be met with elsewhere.†

TO SIR H. S. BART.

“ Dated at Port Royal in Jamaica, Nov. 13, 1722.

“ Since my last to you, the affairs of the island are altered infinitely for the worse. This change has been made by a most terrible storm that happened the 28th of August last; the damage which Jamaica has suffered by it is too great to be easily repaired again. Abundance of people have lost their lives by it, in one part or other of this island; some of them were dashed in pieces by the sudden fall of their houses, but the much greater part were swept away by a terrible inundation of

* Oldmixon's History of England, vol. ii. p. 734. Historical Register, for 1723, p. 8, 12. Salmon's Chronological Historian, vol. ii. p. 132.

† Hurricane, which the French write Ouragan, is a word, in the language of the Caribbee Indians, expressing a violent tempest, in which the wind veers from one point of the compass to another. It is preceded first by a dead calm, the sun or moon very red, then a strong west wind. When this shifts to the north, the hurricane begins, continues shifting westward, till it come to south-east, and there stops. The bounds of these dreadful storms are from July 25, to September 8, O. S. but in general August is looked on in America as the hurricane month.

“ the sea, which being raised by the violence of the wind to
“ a much greater height than was ever known before, in
“ many parts of the island broke over its antient bounds,
“ and of a sudden overflowed a large tract of land, carry-
“ ing away with an irresistible force, men, cattle, houses,
“ and, in short, every thing that stood in its way.

“ In this last calamity, the unfortunate town of Port
“ Royal, has had, at least, its full share. And here I
“ confess myself at a loss for words to give a just descrip-
“ tion of the horror of that scene that we the afflicted in-
“ habitants saw before our eyes. When the terror of
“ the sea broke in upon us from all quarters with an
“ impetuous force, conspired with the violence of the
“ wind to cut off all hopes of safety from us, and we had
“ no other choice before us, but that dismal one of perish-
“ ing in the waters if we fled out of our houses, or of
“ being buried under the ruins if we continued in them.
“ In this fearful suspense we were held for several hours,
“ for the violence of the storm began about eight in the
“ morning, and did not sensibly abate till between twelve
“ and one, within which space of time, the wind and
“ sea togetlier demolished a considerable part of the town,
“ laid the churches even with the ground, destroyed above
“ one hundred and twenty white inhabitants, and one
“ hundred and fifty slaves, besides ruining almost all the
“ storehouses in the town, together with all the goods that
“ were in them, which amounted to a considerable value.

“ We had at Port Royal two very formidable enemies
“ to encounter at the same time, *viz.* the wind and the
“ sea; the situation of the place, it being at all times
“ surrounded with the sea, rendering it more exposed
“ than other places, to the fury of that boisterous ele-
“ ment; our defence against the sea, consists in a great
“ wall, round all along on the eastern shore of the town,
“ the side upon which we apprehend most danger. This
“ wall is raised about nine feet above the surface of the

“ water, and may be about six or seven feet broad. And
“ for these twenty years past (for so long the wall has
“ been built) it has proved a sufficient security to the
“ town. But, in this fatal storm, the sea scorned to be
“ restrained by so mean a bulwark; for the wind having,
“ as I observed before, raised it very much above ordi-
“ nary height; it broke over the wall with such a force,
“ as nothing was able to withstand. Two or three rows
“ of houses that were next to the wall, and ran parallel
“ with it, were entirely taken away, among which was the
“ church, a handsome building, and very strong, which
“ was so perfectly demolished, that scarce one brick was
“ left upon another.

“ A considerable part of the wall of the castle was
“ thrown down, notwithstanding its being of a prodigious
“ thickness, and founded altogether upon a rock, and the
“ whole fort was in the utmost danger of being lost, the
“ sea breaking quite over the walls of it, though they are
“ reckoned to stand thirty feet above the water. This
“ information I had from the captain of the fort, and other
“ officers, that were in it during the storm, who all told
“ me, that they expected every minute to have the fort
“ washed away, and gave up themselves and the whole
“ garrison for lost. In the highest streets in the town,
“ and those that are most remote from the sea, the water
“ rose to between five and six feet; and at the same time
“ the current was so rapid, that it was scarce possible for
“ the strongest person to keep his legs, or to prevent
“ himself from being carried away by it. In these cir-
“ cumstances we were obliged to betake ourselves to our
“ chambers and upper rooms; where yet we ran the
“ utmost hazard of perishing by the fall of our houses,
“ which trembled and shook over our heads to a degree
“ that is scarce credible. The roofs were for the most
“ part carried off by the violence of the wind, and parti-
“ cularly in the house to which mine and several other

“ families had betaken ourselves, the gable end was
“ beaten in with such a force, that a large parcel of
“ bricks fell through the garret floor into the chamber
“ where we were, and had they fallen upon any of us,
“ must infallibly have beaten out our brains; but God
“ was pleased to order it so, that not a soul received any
“ hurt.

“ There was, the morning on which the storm happened, a good fleet of ships riding in the harbour of Port Royal, most of which had taken in their full freight, and were to have proceeded home in a few days, had they not been prevented by this terrible storm, which left but one vessel in the harbour, besides four sail of men-of-war, all of which had their masts and rigging blown away, and the ships themselves, though in as secure a harbour as any in the whole West Indies, were as near to destruction as it was possible to be, and escape it. But the most sensible proof of the unaccountable force of the wind and sea together, was, the vast quantity of stones that were thrown over the town-wall; which as I observed before, stands nine feet above the surface of the water, and yet such a prodigious number were forced over it, that almost an hundred negroes were employed for near six weeks together to throw them back again into the sea, and some of those stones were so vastly big, that it was as much as nine or ten men could do to heave them back again over the wall.

“ I am sensible this part of the relation will seem a little strange; but yet I doubt not of obtaining your belief, when I affirm it to you of my own knowledge for a certain truth.

“ But Port Royal was not the only place that suffered in the storm: at Kingston also great damage was done; abundance of houses were blown quite down, and many more were so miserably broken and shattered, as to be

“ little better than none ; abundance of rich goods were
“ spoiled by the rain, the warehouses being either blown
“ down or uncovered. But they had only one enemy to
“ encounter, *viz.* the wind, and were not prevented by
“ the sea from forsaking their falling houses, and betak-
“ ing themselves to the savannahs or open fields, where
“ they were obliged to throw themselves all along upon
“ the ground, to prevent their being blown away ; and
“ yet, even in Kingston, some persons were killed, amongst
“ whom was a very worthy gentlewoman, the wife of the
“ Reverend Mr. May, minister of the town, and the bishop
“ of London’s commissary ; she was killed by the fall of
“ their house, as she lay with her husband under a large
“ table, who had also the misfortune of having his own
“ leg broke. All the vessels that rode in the harbour
“ of Kingston, which were between forty and fifty sail,
“ were either driven on shore or overset and sunk.
“ Abundance of the men and goods were lost, and one
“ could not forbear being surprised to see large ships,
“ with all their heavy lading in them, thrown quite up
“ upon the dry land ; and nothing could afford a more
“ dismal prospect than the harbour did the next day,
“ which was covered with nothing but wrecks and dead
“ bodies.

“ At Spanish Town nobody indeed was killed, but a
“ great many had very narrow escapes, some families
“ having scarce quitted their houses before they fell down
“ flat at once, without giving any warning. The king’s
“ house stands, indeed, but it is all uncovered, and the
“ stables, coach-houses, &c. are quite demolished. The
“ river, near to which the town is situated, swelled to
“ such a degree as was never before known ; and I was
“ assured by the minister of the place, Mr. Scott, rose
“ full forty feet perpendicular above the ordinary mark,
“ and did incredible damage to the estates that lay bor-
“ dering upon it. From other parts of the country we

“ had very melancholy accounts of the great losses they
“ had sustained, and particularly at Old Harbour, a vil-
“ lage built a little distance from that shore ; the sea
“ made such haste to devour, as most unexpectedly to
“ intercept many poor creatures before they had time to
“ make their escape, and almost forty poor souls perished
“ all together in one house ; and whilst they only sought
“ security from the wind, exposed themselves to be de-
“ stroyed by the sea, from whence, when they first fled,
“ they apprehended no danger. In Clarendon and Vere
“ parishes great mischief was done ; in the latter the mi-
“ nister, Mr. White, had his leg broke by the fall of the
“ house where he was, not to mention several persons
“ that were killed outright.

“ But I should quite tire out your patience, should I
“ undertake to give you a particular account of the da-
“ mages that were done by the storm in all parts of the
“ island. It shall therefore suffice to say, that the damage
“ which the trading part of the island has sustained, by
“ the loss of their shipping and goods, is not to be valued ;
“ and, on the other hand, it is impossible to say how
“ deeply the planting interest has shared in this
“ common calamity, by the loss of dwelling houses and
“ sugar works, and many other ways. And, in short,
“ had the fury of the storm lasted much longer, the whole
“ island must have been one general wreck, and nothing
“ but final and universal ruin could have ensued.” *

There remains but one thing more to be mentioned within the compass of this year, and that is, the perplexed situation of affairs on the continent making it necessary for his majesty to visit his German dominions, he embarked on board the Carolina yacht on the 3d of June, arrived safely in Holland on the 7th, and continued his journey by land to Hanover, where he remained during the rest

* British Empire in America, vol. ii. p. 362, contains an account of this dreadful calamity, by Sir N. Lawes, then governor.

of the year 1723; at the close of which Sir John Norris, with a small squadron of men-of-war was sent to escort him from Holland; and he returned safely to St. James's on the 30th of December. *

A.D. 1724. The parliament, which had been farther prorogued, on account of the king's stay abroad, was now summoned to meet on the 9th of January: and care was taken in the mean time, to regulate whatever had relation to foreign affairs, in such a manner as that his majesty might assure both houses, in his speech from the throne, that, through his assiduous application to business while at Hanover, all affairs had been adjusted, so that most of the courts of Europe were, at that juncture, either in a favourable disposition toward us, or at least in no condition to create in us any apprehension on account of their armaments or intrigues.

A.D. 1725. In this state they continued for about two years, that is to say, till a little before the treaty of Hanover, which was concluded there on the 3d of September, 1725.† It is sufficiently known to every body, this alliance was concerted in order to prevent the bad effects that were apprehended from the treaty of Vienna; in which, at least it was so suggested, there were many things dangerous to the trade of England, and the succession of the royal family; but this, however, the late emperor Charles VI. absolutely denied, and took a very strange as well as extraordinary measure, which was to appeal from the judgment of the king and his ministry to that of the people of this nation, for whom he professed the warmest gratitude, and the highest esteem.‡ However, there was

* Oldmixon's History of England, vol. ii. p. 742, 747. Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 673, 676. Lediard's Naval History, vol. ii. p. 891, 892.

† Lamberti, tom. x. Append. No. xxiii. Rousset, tom. ii. p. 189. Le Droit Public de l'Europe, chap. vii. p. 72.

‡ Rousset, tom. iii. p. 349, where the reader will find the resident Palm's memorial, dated March 13, 1727.

no great sign of this in the proclamation, published some time after, for prohibiting any of the goods and manufactures of Great Britain from being imported into the island of Sicily, of which we had so lately, and at such a mighty expense to ourselves, put him in possession.

The year 1726 opened very inauspiciously : his majesty embarked on board the *Carolina* yacht, at Helvoetsluys, about one in the afternoon on new-year's day, with a fair wind at north-east, and sailed immediately. But, about seven the same evening, a most violent storm arose, with hail and rain, which so separated the fleet, that only one man-of-war, commanded by Captain Dansie, kept company with the king's yacht, on board of which was Sir John Norris. The tempest continued so high, and the sea so boisterous, for about thirty-six hours, that the whole fleet was in the utmost danger. The 3d, in the morning, the yachts and men-of-war were near Dover ; and one of the yachts, with some of his majesty's attendants, entered the river ; but it was thought more advisable that his majesty should land at Rye, where he arrived about noon ; and on the 9th, in the evening, he came from thence to his palace at St. James's, in perfect health.*

A.D.
1726.

On the 20th of January the parliament met, and the king made a very remarkable speech from the throne, † in which he took notice of the critical situation of affairs in Europe, and of the measures he had taken for supporting the honour of his crown, and preserving the just rights of his people. When this speech came to be debated in the house of commons, very warm things were said, by those who were then in the opposition, against the plan of the Hanover alliance ; which, though it was also disliked

* Oldmixon's History of England, vol. ii. p. 773. Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 691. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. lxxx. p. 211. Lediard's Naval History, vol. ii. p. 893.

† Chandler's Debates, vol. vi. p. 349.

by many of the ministers here at home, yet was strenuously supported by others, and even by them, in that debate.*

It has been generally said, and I believe with truth, that the secretary-of-state, then abroad with his majesty, was the sole, or at least the principal adviser in that affair, which gave a new turn to our politics, and engaged us in a scheme for humbling the house of Austria, which we had so long and even so lately supported, and in the support of which we have been since also engaged at an expense, that might certainly have been spared, if this scheme had not taken place; such fluctuations there are in modern policy, and so dearly do whole nations pay for the intrigues, caprices and errors of particular men! But to proceed.

On the 26th of January the house of commons resolved, that ten thousand men be employed for the sea-service, for the year 1726, at four pounds a man per month for thirteen months. The 23d of February they resolved, that two hundred and twelve thousand three hundred and eighty-one pounds five shillings be granted for the ordinary of the navy for the same year.† But this provision, as the affairs of Europe then stood, being not thought sufficient, his majesty held it requisite, on the 24th of March, to send a message to the house of commons,‡ importing, that he found it absolutely necessary to augment his maritime force; and hoped he should be enabled, by the assistance of parliament, to increase the number of seamen already voted and granted for the service of this year, that he might be thereby enabled not only to secure to his own subjects the full and free enjoyment of their trade and navigation, but in the best manner to prevent and frustrate

* The point in the treaty of Vienna, which chiefly affected the maritime powers, was the confirmation of the Ostend company.

† Historical Register, for 1726, p. 51, 70.

‡ O'Meara's History of England, vol. ii. p. 783. Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 695.

such designs as had been formed against the particular interest of this nation, and the general peace of Europe. Upon this message there was a very warm debate, which issued in an address from the house to his majesty, desiring, "That he would be pleased to make such an addition to the number of seamen already voted, and to concert such other measures as he in his great wisdom should think most conducive to the security of the trade and navigation of this kingdom, and to the preservation of the peace of Europe, assuring his majesty that they would effectually provide for, and make good, all such expenses and engagements as should be entered into for obtaining those great and desirable ends." *

The administration had all things now in their own power, and were at full liberty to act as they thought fit; but, before we proceed to what they did, it will be reasonable to take a view of what was then looked upon as the scheme of our enemies. This I think the more reasonable, because hitherto it has never been done, at least in a clear, intelligible way, so that a reader of common capacity might understand it. As soon as the courts of Vienna and Madrid apprehended that their views were crossed, and the ends proposed by their conjunction utterly disappointed by the counter-alliance at Hanover, they immediately resolved to have recourse to farther negotiations, in order to increase the number of their allies; and, when they found themselves sufficiently powerful, they designed to have resort to open force.

With a view to render this scheme effectual, the emperor began to execute projects in the north, in which he met at first with some extraordinary success. The czarina Catherine, dowager of the czar Peter the Great, had conceived a distaste to the British court; and had, by some people about her, been drawn to believe it might

* Chandler's Debates, vol. vi. p. 370.

prove no difficult matter to overturn the government in Britain. The same scheme had been proposed and countenanced at the Imperial court by some of the ministers, as the empress-dowager informed the king; and on the credit of that information, his majesty mentioned it in his speech. - The Spanish court readily adopted that or any other expedient which might procure them Gibraltar, and facilitate their acquisitions in Italy, then and long after the great objects of their policy. *

Thus the Hanover alliance, originally contrived for the securing that electorate, proved the means of bringing it into some degree of danger, and perhaps the same cause will hardly ever fail to produce the same effects; whence it is evident, that the less share we take in the affairs of the continent, the less the present royal family will be exposed to such attempts. And therefore a wise ministry will be sure to inform their master, that pursuing the real and acknowledged interests of Great Britain will conciliate all the powers of the continent except France; and that attempts to aggrandize his electoral dominions will always create him enemies, disturb the peace of Germany, and affect the balance of Europe.

I have already observed, that the ministry at home were by no means the authors of the Hanover alliance, though they looked on themselves as obliged to support it; and therefore, as soon as they were acquainted with the schemes formed by the allies of Vienna, they set about disappointing them with all their force. In order to this, they did not much trust to their good allies the French, or to the slow assistance of the Dutch, but chose the shortest and most expeditious method possible, of helping themselves; with which view it was resolved to send a strong fleet into the Baltic to awe the czarina, to bring round another power, and to keep steady a third. It was like-

* Rousset, tom. iii. where the principal public papers regarding these political disputes may be consulted.

wise thought requisite to have another strong squadron on the coast of Spain to intimidate his catholic majesty, and to render his efforts, if he should make any against Gibraltar, ineffectual; and, to sum up all, as they very well knew that money was not only the sinews of war, but the great bond of friendship, at least among states and princes, they determined to send a considerable force to the Indies, in order to block up the galleons, as the shortest means of dissolving the union between their imperial and catholic majesties, being satisfied, that, if the former could not receive his subsidies, the latter could never rely upon his assistance: such were the plans on both sides at this critical juncture!

The command of the fleet intended for the Baltic was given to Sir Charles Wager, vice-admiral of the red, who had under him Sir George Walton, rear-admiral of the blue. The squadron they were to command consisted of twenty ships of the line, one frigate, two fire-ships, and one hospital-ship. His final instructions having been given to the commander-in-chief, on the 13th of April, 1726, he hoisted his flag on board the *Torbay*, a third-rate man-of-war, at the *Nore*.* He was saluted thereupon by all the ships lying there, and returned their salutes with one and twenty guns. About an hour after, Sir George Walton hoisted his flag on board the *Cumberland*, at her mizen-top-mast head, and saluted the admiral with nineteen guns, and was answered with seventeen. The 14th, Sir Charles delivered out a line-of-battle, and a rendezvous for Copenhagen road, or the *Dablen*, near Stockholm, with sailing instructions. The 17th in the morning, the fleet weighed, and set sail from the *Nore*. On the 23d of the same month, the fleet came to an anchor in the road of Copenhagen; and on the 25th, Sir Charles presented his majesty's letter to the king of Denmark in cabinet-

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* Oldmixon's History of England, vol. ii. p. 784. Lediard's Naval History, vol. ii. p. 893.

council; dined with his Danish majesty the same day; and entertained the then prince royal of Denmark on board his own ship the next. On the 6th of May, the fleet under the command of Sir Charles Wager anchored near Stockholm.

The very next day Stephen Pointz, Esq. his majesty's envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary, accompanied by Mr. Jackson, his majesty's resident, came on board the admiral. The 8th, Sir Charles went up to that city with them; and on the 10th, had an audience of the king of Sweden, in the presence of several of the senators, to which he was introduced by Mr. Pointz. Sir Charles delivered a letter from the king his master to his Swedish majesty, by whom he was very graciously received.* The 14th of the same month the squadron of Danish men-of-war sailed from Copenhagen for the island of Bornholm, in order to join the British squadron. These ceremonies over, Sir Charles Wager sailed with his squadron to the island of Narignan, within three leagues of Revel. There, on the 25th of May, Captain Deane, who had been on board the *Port Mahon*, nearer in with the shore, returned on board the *Torbay*, and brought the admiral an account, that he had spoken with a Lubecker that came five days before from Petersburg; whose master informed him, that there were sixteen Russian men-of-war in the road at Cronstadt, with three flags flying, *viz.* Lord-admiral Apraxin, Vice-admiral Gordon, and Rear-admiral Saunders; that a great number of gallies were in readiness, of which but twelve were at Cronstadt, and the rest at Petersburg, or Wyburgh.†

The admiral took the first opportunity of sending his

* Historical Register, for 1726, p. 195, 326. *Mercurie Historique et Politique*, tom. lxxx. p. 549, 656. Salmon's Chronological Historian, vol. ii. p. 165.

† Lediard's Naval History, vol. ii. p. 895. Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 697.

majesty's letter to the czarina, inclosed in a letter to her Admiral Apraxin, in which letter his majesty expostulated very freely with her on the subject of her armaments by sea and land, and on the intrigues which her ministers had lately entered into with the agents of the pretender.* It is said, that the Russian court was very much nettled at this appearance of a British fleet upon their coasts, and was inclined to have come to extremities, rather than endure it. But Vice-admiral Gordon very wisely represented to the council, that the Russian fleet was in no condition to venture an engagement with that of Great Britain; upon which orders were given for laying it up, and for securing, in the best manner possible, both it and the gallies from being insulted. In the month of July, Prince Menzikoff, who was then prime minister, coming to Revel, mutual civilities passed between him and Sir Charles Wager; and his highness, to shew his regard to the English officers, frequently invited them to his own table.†

The British fleet, while in this station, was joined by a Danish squadron, commanded by Rear-admiral Bille, and remained before Revel till the 28th of September, when, having received certain intelligence that the Russians would not be able to attempt any thing that year, he sailed for Copenhagen, and from thence home, arriving safely at the Gunfleet on the 1st of November.‡ It must be allowed that Sir Charles Wager performed, on this occasion, all that could be expected from the wisdom and skill of an English admiral; so that this expedition effectually answered its end, which ought to be considered as an

* See the king's letter and the empress's answer in the *Historical Register*, for 1726, p. 198.

† Lediard's *Naval History*, vol. ii. p. 896. *Historical Register*, for 1726, p. 329. Mottley's *Life of the Empress Catherine*, vol. ii. p. 183, 187.

‡ Tindal's *Continuation of Rapin*, vol. iv. p. 698. *Mercurio Historico et Politique*, tom. lxxx. p. 590, 591.

honour to his memory, whether that end shall be thought right or wrong; for that is a mere political dispute, which neither can, or ought to affect the character of the admiral in the least. The fleet that was sent to the coast of Spain, was commanded by Sir John Jennings, and consisted of nine large men-of-war, which were afterwards joined in the Mediterranean by several ships that were cruising there. The admiral sailed on the 20th of July from St. Helen's; and, on the 3d of August, entered the bay of St. Antonio, which alarmed the Spaniards excessively, who immediately drew down a great body of regular troops toward the coast. When the fleet first entered the bay, some pieces of cannon were fired at the foremost ships; but the governor of St. Antonio presently sent an officer to Sir John Jennings to excuse it, and to assure him it was an act of indiscretion committed by the governor of the fort, without orders. On the 25th of the same month, the fleet arrived at Lisbon, and was received there with all possible marks of respect; and Sir John Jennings having received a message from the king of Portugal, intimating that he would be glad to see him, the admiral landed, paid his compliments to his majesty,* and then returning on board his squadron, sailed from the river of Lisbon for the bay of Bulls, near Cadiz, where he was treated with great distinction, and had all the refreshments he desired sent him, by order of the Spanish governor.

He cruized for some time after off Cape St. Mary, in order to wait for the ships that were to join him. On the 7th of the same month, Rear-admiral Hopson, with four British men-of-war, came into the river of Lisbon, and one of the ships having lost her main-yard, and another having her fore-mast damaged, the rear-admiral applied

* Lediard's Naval History, vol. ii. p. 898. Historical Register, for 1726, p. 329, 330. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. lxxxi, p. 221, 345.

to our minister, Brigadier Dormer, who immediately obtained an order from his Portuguese majesty, for furnishing every thing that was necessary out of his naval stores. The 9th, his majesty's ships the *Winchelsea* and *Swallow*, which sailed some time before from the Downs, came into the entrance of the river Tagus, and the next day proceeded to join Sir John Jennings.

It would be needless for me to enter into a farther or more particular detail of the motions of this squadron, which soon after returned to Spithead. * It is sufficient to observe, that it answered perfectly the ends proposed by it; alarmed the Spanish court to the highest degree, obliged it to abandon the measures then taking to the prejudice of Great Britain, and gave such spirits to the party in Spain which opposed those dangerous councils, as enabled them to triumph over all opposition. The duke de Ripperda, who had been lately prime minister, the very man who had negotiated the treaty of Vienna, by whose intrigues the two courts had been embroiled, took shelter, at the time of his disgrace, in the house of the earl of Harrington, then Colonel Stanhope, and our minister at Madrid; and though he was taken from thence by force, yet the terror of a British squadron upon the coast, prevailed upon the Spanish court to lay aside all thoughts of proceeding against him capitally, which they before intended, for betraying to the British ministry those very designs that occasioned the sending of this fleet; and he soon after made his escape from the castle of Segovia, and retired hither as to the only place of safety, from the resentment of his Catholic majesty. † Such were the events that attended the expedition of Sir

* Tindal's *Continuation of Rapin*, vol. v. p. 698. Lediard's *Naval History*, vol. ii. p. 899. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. lxxxii. p. 590.

† *Memoirs of the duke de Ripperda*. *Historical Register*, for the year 1727. Tindal, Oldmixon, and other writers.

John Jennings on the coast of Spain: let us proceed to the transactions in the West Indies.

As the execution of all the great designs formed by the Vienna allies, depended entirely on the supplies that were expected from the Spanish West Indies, our ministry thought they could not take either a wiser or a bolder measure, than sending a squadron into those parts to block up the galleons, and so prevent them from receiving those supplies. A squadron was accordingly ordered to be equipped for that purpose, the command of which was given to Francis Hosier, Esq. rear-admiral of the blue, an excellent officer; but what his instructions were, I am not able to say, as having no better authority to proceed upon than bare conjectures. He sailed from Plymouth on the 9th of April, 1726; and though he had a very quick passage, yet the Spaniards had previous notice of his design, by an advice-boat from Cadiz, so that before he reached the Bastimentos, the treasure which had been on board the galleons, and which that year consisted of about six millions and a half sterling, was fairly carried back to Panama, on the other side of the Isthmus. On the 6th of June Vice-admiral Hosier anchored within sight of Porto Bello; upon which the governor sent to know his demands.* The vice-admiral answered, with great prudence and temper, that he waited for the Royal George, a large South-sea ship, then in the harbour, which had disposed of all her cargo, and had a very large sum of money on board. The Spaniards, in hopes of getting rid of so troublesome a guest, hastened her away; which, I think, was the greatest service this squadron performed. With respect of the blocking up of the galleons, that was so much magnified here at home, it was really a dream, for his remaining there three weeks, was time sufficient to

* Lediard's Naval History, vol. ii. p. 899. Historical Register, for 1726, p. 380. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. lxxx. p. 442.

put it out of their power to return for that season; and, therefore, his continuing there six months, as he did, till his squadron, that had been the terror, become the jest of the Spaniards, was altogether needless. A little before Christmas he weighed, and sailed for Jamaica, after such a loss of men, and in so wretched a condition, that I cannot prevail upon myself to enter into the particulars of a disaster, which I heartily wish could be blotted out of the annals, and out of the remembrance of this nation. *

It happened very luckily for him, that there were at that time in the island of Jamaica, a great number of seamen out of employment, so that in two months time his squadron was once more manned, and in a condition to put to sea; which he did, and stood over to Carthagera, where he was able to do little or nothing; for the Spaniards had by this time recovered their spirits, and began to make reprisals, seizing the Prince Frederic, a South-sea ship, then at La Vera Cruz, with all the vessels and effects belonging to that company, which Admiral Hosier did indeed demand, but to no purpose. He continued cruising in those seas, and some of his ships took several Spanish prizes, most of which were afterwards restored; and in this situation things continued till the vice-admiral breathed his last, on the 23d of August, 1727. But that, and what followed, being without the limits of this work, I have nothing farther to say of this expedition, which, whether well or ill concerted at home, was undoubtedly executed with great courage and conduct by this unfortunate commander, who lost his seamen twice over, and whose ships were totally ruined by the worms in those seas, which created a mighty clamour at home, and was, without doubt, a prodigious loss to the nation.

The Spaniards, intending to shew that they were not intimidated by these mighty naval armaments, proceeded

* Lediard's Naval History, vol ii. p. 900. Oldmixon. *Mercurius Historique et Politique*, tom. lxxxii. p. 99.

in the scheme they had formed, of attacking the important fortress of Gibraltar; and toward the close of the year 1726, their army, under the count de las Torres, actually came before the place. Our ministry at home having had previous intelligence of this design, ordered a small squadron to be got ready at Portsmouth in the month of December; and on the 24th, Sir Charles Wager, having hoisted his flag on board the *Kent*, as soon as the wind would permit, sailed, in order to join Rear-admiral Hopson, for the relief of that garrison, which he performed very effectually in the succeeding year. *

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The parliament met on the 17th of January, 1727, and on the 23d of the same month the house of commons came to a resolution, that twenty thousand men should be allowed for the sea-service, at the usual rate of four pounds a-month per man; and on the 1st of the next month, they voted one hundred ninety-nine thousand and seventy-one pounds for the ordinary of the navy. † The first use made of these extraordinary supplies was, to send once more a fleet into the Baltic, where, it was said, the czarina was preparing to attack the Swedes; and afterwards to proceed to the execution of designs which have been formerly mentioned. On the 21st of April, Captain Maurice, commander of the *Nassau*, was appointed rear-admiral of the white squadron; and Captain Robert Hughes, commander of the *Hampton Court*, rear-admiral of the blue squadron of his majesty's fleet; and Captain Rogers was appointed to command the *Nassau* in the room of Admiral Maurice. They were all three to serve under Sir John Norris, who sailed the latter end of that month, and arriving on the coast of Jutland the 8th of

* Oldmixon's History of England, vol. ii. p. 802, 805. Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 709. Lediard's Naval History, vol. ii. p. 901. Historical Register, for the year 1727, p. 120. *Mer-cure Historique et Politique*, tom. lxxxii. p. 236, 351, 383, 566.

† Historical Register, for 1727, p. 78, 80.

May,* anchored in sight of Elsinour the 11th, and the next day in the road of Copenhagen. The king of Denmark being at his palace at Fredericksburgh, Sir John, with the Lord Glenorchy, his majesty's minister at that court, waited on his Danish majesty, and was extremely well received. But while he was employed in this expedition, that event fell out, which puts a period to our labours.

This event was the death of King George I. which happened at his brother's palace, in the city of Osnaburg, June the 11th, 1727, about one in the morning, in the thirteenth year of his reign, and in the sixty-eighth of his life.† To speak without flattery, his majesty was a prince of great virtues, and had many qualities truly amiable. He was very well acquainted with the general interest of all the princes in Europe, and particularly well versed in whatever related to German affairs, with respect to which he always acted as a true patriot, and a firm friend to the constitution of the empire. As to his conduct after his accession to the British throne, his ministers were entirely accountable for it; for he constantly declared to them, that his intention was to govern according to the laws, and with no other view than the general good of his people. He was allowed, by the best judges of military skill, to be an excellent officer. He was very capable of application, and understood business as well as any prince of his time. In his amusements he was easy and familiar, of a temper very sensible of the services that were rendered him; firm in his friendships, naturally

* Lediard's *Naval History*, vol. ii. p. 905. Tindal's *Continuation of Rapin*, vol. iv. p. 709, 710. Oldmixon, vol. ii. p. 805.

† *Historical Register*, for 1727, p. 172. *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. lxxxiii. p. 39. *London Gazette* of June 15th, 1727. *M. de la Mottraye's Travels*, vol. iii. p. 277, where there is a distinct account of his majesty's death, from Baion Fabricius, who attended him.

averse from violent measures, and as compassionate as any prince that ever sat upon a throne.

A List of the English Navy, as it stood at the Accession of George II.

RATES.	NO. OF SHIPS.	MEN.	GUNS.	SWIVELS.
I.	7	5,460	....	700
II.	13	8,840	....	1,170
III.	{ 16	8,320	....	1,280
	{ 24	10,568	....	1,680
IV.	{ 24	37,600	....	1,440
	{ 40	17,200	....	2,000
V.	{ 24	4,800	....	960
	{ 1	155	....	30
VI.	{ 1	140	....	22
	{ 28	3,580	....	560
Fire-ships	3	155	....	24
Bombs	3	120	....	16
Store-ship	1	90	....	20
Sloops	15	990	....	78
Yachts	7	260	....	64
Ditto, small	5	29	....	26
Hoys	11	87	....	12
Smacks	2	4		
Long-beat	1	2		
Buoy-boat	1	0		
Lighter	1	3		
Hulks	9	159		
Total,		98,562	10,082	

CHAP. III.

The Naval History of Great Britain from the Accession of King George II. to the End of the War in the Year 1763.

KING George II. ascended the throne of Great Britain in the year 1727, and in the forty-fourth year of his age. All the European powers were now at peace; nevertheless, some of them were so little satisfied with the terms to which necessity had compelled them to accede, that a future war was easily foreseen. The late king had engaged in an unnatural alliance with France, and, under a pretence of adjusting the balance of power, had burdened the nation with subsidies to Sweden and the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. The emperor Charles VI. for whom we had so lately wrested Sicily from the Spaniards, was now leagued with the court of Madrid, and the political scheme of our ministry, some time before the death of George I. was to humble this very emperor, in whose cause we had so lately expended such sums of British treasure. A.D.
1727.

Before I proceed to the occurrences which are the immediate objects of a naval history, it seems necessary to bring the reader acquainted with the men in power at the beginning of this reign. Lord Townsend and the duke of Newcastle were generally supposed to conduct the important concern of foreign negotiations. The first of these is allowed to have possessed knowledge and talents equal to the task. As to the latter, he was certainly not a man of great abilities; but he had distinguished himself as a steady and indefatigable friend to the house of Hanover, and his parliamentary interest was very considerable. Lord Carteret, though not ostensibly in the administration, was frequently consulted, and his advice

generally followed. He was a man of some genius and learning, and, having been much abroad, was supposed to be well acquainted with the general system of Europe. The interior government of the kingdom was principally conducted by Sir Robert Walpole, who was at the head of the treasury, and leader of the Whigs in the house of commons. He was well versed in the mystery of financing, funding, and in the effectual application of money, as a powerful engine of government. He spoke in parliament, though not elegantly, yet with ease, fluency, and persuasion. He knew mankind, and on that knowledge he is said to have laid the foundation of that uniform plan of influence, so very agreeable to subsequent parliaments, and so indispensibly useful to future ministers. The principal speakers in the opposition were Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, Mr. Hungerford, and Mr. Pultney.

The reader has seen, in page 424 of this volume, that the navy of England was, at this period, exceedingly formidable. Our chief naval commanders who were at this time employed, were Sir Charles Wager, Sir John Norris, and Admiral Hosier: the first commanded a fleet in the Mediterranean, the second in the Baltic, and the third in the West Indies, where he died, about two months after the king's accession. Sir Charles Wager had been sent to secure Gibraltar, then besieged by the Spaniards. He afterwards continued upon the coast of Spain, in order to persuade that nation, by the *ultima ratio regum*, if necessary, to acquiesce in the general plan of peace to which the other considerable powers had already acceded. Sir John Norris had been sent with a fleet into the Baltic, with a design to protect Sweden from the czarina, who threatened that country with an invasion: and Admiral Hosier had sailed in April, 1726, to the West Indies, in order to block up the Spanish galleons, and thereby to prevent that treasure from being brought to Europe,

without which, it was imagined, the courts of Vienna and Madrid could not prosecute the war.

Such was the situation of the British navy at the accession of George II. who, as I have before observed, found his kingdom at peace with all the world. No immediate change was made, either of ministers or measures; but before the expiration of the year, Lord Torrington was placed at the head of the admiralty, and the earl of Westmoreland made first lord of trade.*

A new parliament was called. The two houses met on the 23d day of January. The commons unanimously chose for their speaker Arthur Onslow, Esq. member for the County of Surrey; a man whose abilities and integrity rendered him singularly qualified for that important office. The king, in his speech from the throne, informed his parliament, that the difficulties, which had hitherto prevented the execution of the preliminaries to the establishment of a general peace, were now removed, and that a congress would soon be opened for that purpose, in which he hoped the peace of Europe would be effectually secured; but that nevertheless, in order to prevent the possibility of an open rupture, it was necessary to continue the preparations for war. He wished that some scheme might be formed for the increase and security of seamen, that they might rather be invited than compelled into the service. He promised economy as soon as the public safety would permit, and concluded his speech, as usual, with recommending unanimity and despatch. The two houses presented most dutiful addresses on the occasion. They voted twenty-two thousand nine hundred and fifty-five men for guards and garrisons, and fifteen thousand seamen, for the service of the year. They granted two hundred and thirty-one thousand pounds for the maintenance of twelve thousand Hessians; a subsidy of

A.D.
1728.

fifty thousand pounds to the king of Sweden, and twenty-five thousand pounds to the duke of Brunswick. *

The congress, which met at Soissons to establish peace, having yet determined nothing, the fate of Europe remained suspended. Spain had secretly shook hands with France, and was now allied to Portugal by means of a double marriage; she therefore grew indifferent as to peace with England. She continued her depredations on our commerce in the West Indies, where our fleet remained inactive and rotting, and our sailors perished miserably; insulted and unrevenged.

A.D.
1729.

The parliament of England met, according to their prorogation, on the 21st of January. They voted fifteen thousand seamen for the service of the year: the number of land-forces was also continued, as were likewise the subsidies to foreign princes. The merchants of London, Bristol, and Liverpool, presented petitions to the house of commons, complaining of the repeated injuries they had sustained by the depredations of the Spaniards in the West Indies; upon which the house ordered the lords of the admiralty to produce every similar memorial which they had received; and they addressed the king, praying, that the instructions and letters sent to Admiral Hosier and his successors in command, might be laid before them. A committee of the whole house took this important affair into consideration, and after examining evidence, and amply debating the matter, resolved, that the Spaniards had violated the treaties subsisting between the two crowns; that they had treated the crews of several English ships with inhumanity; and that the instructions given to Admiral Hosier, to seize and detain the Spanish galleons, were just and necessary. The house of commons then addressed the king, requesting his majesty to require satisfaction of Spain; and he answered them by a promise to comply with their request. †

* Smollet, vol. vii. p. 173.

† Ibid. p. 180.

Meanwhile the house of lords deliberated on the positive demand made by the catholic king, of the restitution of Gibraltar, founded on the contents of a letter written by King George I. to the king of Spain. From an authentic copy of this letter, it appeared, that his late majesty had actually consented to this restitution. Their lordships then resolved, that the house did firmly rely, that his majesty would, in support of the honour and trade of this kingdom, take effectual care to preserve his undoubted right to Gibraltar and Minorca. A.D. 1729.

The year 1730 produced nothing worthy the attention of a naval historian. The king, in his speech to parliament which met on the 13th of January, informed them, that the peace of Europe was now established by a treaty concluded at Seville; that the uninterrupted commerce of Great Britain was restored; and that the nation was to be amply indemnified for the Spanish depredations in the West Indies. Nevertheless, I find, that on the 2d of March, 1731,* several masters and sailors of merchant-ships, who had been taken by the Spanish *Guarda Costas*, came to London to give an account to parliament of the cruel treatment they had received from the Spaniards. In 1733 the house of commons addressed the king, to know what satisfaction had been made by Spain for the depredations above-mentioned; † and by his majesty's answer it appeared, that the commissioners had not yet made their report. In the speech from the throne, which put an end to the preceding session of parliament, the nation was told, that all disputes with foreign powers were settled, and the public tranquillity established. However, twelve ships of the line were put into commission, and press-warrants were issued for manning the fleet. Meanwhile Rear-admiral Stewart demanded of the governors of Campeachy and the Havannah, restitution for A.D. 1730.

* Gentleman's Magazine, March, 1731.

† Smollet's History, vol. vii. p. 207.

three ships plundered by Spanish Guarda Costas. In consequence of this peremptory demand, one of the Guarda Costas was sold at St. Jago de Cuba, and the money paid to the South-Sea factors. One of the Spanish governors was sent home, and another confined in the castle of Cuba.

A. D. 1733. That we may in some degree preserve the chain of such public events as are connected, though indirectly, with our Naval History, it is necessary to inform the reader, that in the year 1733, the king of France concluded a treaty with Spain and Sardinia, by which they mutually agreed to declare war against the emperor. Accordingly a war in Germany and in Italy immediately commenced.

A. D. 1734.

A. D. 1735. In 1734, the navy of England consisted of ninety-two men-of-war, sixty of which were of the line. In the following year a misunderstanding, on a frivolous occasion, happening between the courts of Spain and Portugal, the latter applied to Great Britain for protection; in consequence of which, Sir John Norris sailed with a powerful fleet, and arrived at Lisbon on the 9th of June, where he was joyfully received as their deliverer.

Regardless of the frequent complaints and remonstrances delivered to the court of Spain by the British ambassador at Madrid, the Spaniards in America continued audaciously to insult and molest our commerce. They pretended that we had no right either to cut logwood in the Bay of Campeachy, or to gather salt on the island of Tortugas. Their Guarda Costas boarded and plundered every English ship they met, under a pretence of searching for contraband goods. They even seized several English vessels, confiscated their cargoes, and threw the sailors into prison. Fired by such reiterated provocation, the people of England began now to lose all patience. Petitions to the house of commons were transmitted from various parts of the kingdom. The house again addressed the king, and the king again returned a promissory answer. It is difficult, even at this distance of time, to reflect with patience

on the pusillanimity of the British ministry at this period ; nor is it possible to imagine the Spaniards would have carried their insolence so far, if they had not depended on the pacific disposition of Sir Robert Walpole.* That able minister dreaded the consequences of a war to himself and friends. He had other uses for the treasure which fleets and armies would consume ; and therefore he left nothing unattempted to avert, or, at least to procrastinate the storm. For this purpose, he patched up a convention with the court of Spain, importing, that the disputes between the two crowns should be settled by two plenipotentiaries. This convention was severely censured by the opposition in both houses of parliament. The city of London, the West India merchants, and the merchants of Bristol, presented petitions, justly complaining, that their indisputable right to pass unmolested to and from the British colonies, was, in this convention, left as a dubitable privilege, to be determined by plenipotentiaries.

A.D.
1739.

The convention above-mentioned stipulated that ninety-five thousand pounds being a balance due from Spain to the crown and subjects of Great Britain, should be paid in London before the expiration of four months after the ratification. The time was now expired, and the money not yet paid. The house of lords appointed a day for taking the state of the nation into consideration, and when the day arrived, Lord Carteret moved for a resolution, that this failure of payment was a high indignity to the king, and

* One of the most shocking instances of Spanish insolent barbarity, appeared in the case of one Jenkins, master of a Scots merchant-ship, who at the bar of the house of commons held his ear in his hand, which had been torn from his head by the crew of a *Guarda Costas*, who declared they would do the same by his master. They tortured him with the most wanton inhumanity, and threatened him with instant death. Being asked by a member, what were his thoughts when he was in the hands of these barbarians ? he answered, " I recommended my soul to God, and my cause to my country." This evidence made a strong impression on the house.

an injustice to the nation.* The previous question was put, and the motion lost. But though the minister yet retained a sufficient majority in both houses, the nation in general was too much exasperated to afford any hopes of preventing a war with Spain.† Letters of marque and reprisal were granted; the army was augmented; an embargo was laid upon all outward-bound vessels; a fleet was assembled at Spithead; and a reinforcement was sent to Admiral Haddock, who at this time commanded a fleet in the Mediterranean. Our whole fleet in commission consisted of eighty-four men-of-war, besides thirty-two ready to be put into commission.‡ The entire navy of Spain amounted to thirty-three ships of war, those of the flota, which are properly merchant-ships, included.

A. D. 1739. Both nations began to make vigorous preparations for war. The court of Spain at this juncture revived its alliance by a marriage between the Infant Don Philip and Madame de France, and the French ministry did not scruple to declare, that if Spain were oppressed by any power whatsoever, they should not remain idle spectators. The States-general, on the other hand, did not scruple to signify by their ministers at the courts of France and Spain, that they were under certain mutual engagements to England, which, if required, they thought themselves in honour obliged to fulfil.

Vice-admiral Vernon sailed on the 20th of July for the

* Smollet, vol. vii. p. 268.

† Gentleman's Magazine, June, 1739.

‡ The ships in commission were, Ships ready for commission.

GUNS.			GUNS.		
1	of	90	2	of	100
5	—	80	2	—	90
12	—	70	6	—	80
20	—	60	4	—	70
19	—	50	10	—	50 and 60
9	—	44	3	—	44
18	—	20	5	—	20 and 22

West Indies with nine men-of-war. This gentleman had rendered himself conspicuous in the house of commons by his blunt opposition to the ministry. In the debate concerning the Spanish depredations in the West Indies, he had affirmed that he could take Porto Bello with six men-of-war. He had formerly commanded a fleet on the Jamaica station, and was therefore supposed to be well acquainted with those seas. His offer was echoed by the members in the opposition, and the whole nation resounded his praise. The minister embraced his opportunity of acquiring some popularity, and at the same time, of removing a troublesome opponent in the house of commons. Besides, it was generally imagined that he was not without hopes that the admiral might disgrace himself and his party by not succeeding in the adventure. Vernon sailed for the West Indies.

The English fleet cruising on the coast of Spain was particularly intended to intercept the Assogues ships from Vera Cruz.* These ships, however, arrived safe at St. Andero. Having received information of the situation of affairs in Europe, instead of coming by the Madeiras for Cadiz, as usual, they sailed by the Bahamas, and went north about; then steering westward, and doubling the Lizard, they made Ushant, and thence creeping along shore, crossed the Bay of Biscay, and so to St. Andero.

On the 23d day of October, Great Britain declared war against Spain, and, in the same month, intelligence was received that Admiral Haddock had taken two rich ships from the Caraccas, having on board two thousand pieces of eight. He was soon after joined by Admiral Balchin, with six ships of the line.

Vice-admiral Vernon arrived at Jamaica the 23d of October, the day on which war was proclaimed in England. On his arrival off Port Royal in that island, he had

A. D
1739

the satisfaction to see the Diamond man-of-war standing into the harbour with two Spanish vessels in tow, one of which was a register ship with one hundred and twenty thousand pieces of eight, and clothing for six thousand men, on board. The admiral sailed from Jamaica on the 5th of November, with six ships of war.* Having met with contrary winds, he did not come in sight of Porto Bello till the 20th in the evening. He was apprehensive of driving to the eastward during the night; he therefore anchored about six leagues from shore. Porto Bello is a town in the Spanish West Indies, so called from the beauty of its harbour. It is situated on the north coast of the isthmus of Darien, which divides the kingdom of Mexico from Terra Firma. The town stands at the bottom of a small bay, defended by a castle and two forts, one of which called the Iron Fort, is situated on the north side of the mouth of the harbour, and the other, St. Jeronimo, near the town with a battery facing the entrance into the bay. The castle, called Gloria, stands on the west side of the town.

On the 21st, in the morning, the admiral weighed and plied to windward in line of battle.† The ships entered the bay in the following order, viz. The Hampton Court, Norwich, Worcester, Burford, Strafford, Louisa. Orders had been given for a general attack; but the wind coming to the eastward, the admiral was obliged to confine his attack to the Iron Fort, close to which the squadron was piloted by Captain Rentone. When the Hampton Court came within about a cable's length of the fort, she was

SHIPS NAMES.	GUNS.	MEN.	COMMANDERS.
* Viz, Burford.....	70	500	Vice-admiral Vernon
Hampton Court..	70	495	Capt. Watson.
Worcester	60	400	— Main.
Louisa.....	60	400	— Waterhouse.
Strafford	60	400	— Trevor.
Norwich.....	50	300	— Herbert.

† London Gazette, March 15, 1740.

suddenly becalmed by the high land to windward, and, before she could bring her guns to bear, was exposed to a smart fire from the enemy. But as soon as she was in a situation to return the salute, after having dropped her anchor, she seemed, in a moment, a cloud of perpetual thunder. She appeared to the rest of the fleet to be all on fire. In the space of twenty-five minutes she is said to have fired four hundred balls. The Norwich and the Worcester were not long before they came up, and fired upon the fort with vast alacrity. These were followed by the Burford, on board of which was the admiral, who perceiving that the Spaniards began to fly from several parts of the fort, made a signal for landing. Meanwhile he luffed up as near the fort as possible, and, by means of his small arms, drove the garrison from the lower battery. As the boats full of sailors and marines passed the admiral, he called to them to land immediately under the walls of the fort, though there was no breach made. The sailors were no sooner on shore than they scaled the wall, and, pulling up the soldiers after them, struck the Spanish colours in the lower battery, and hoisted an English ensign. This was no sooner perceived by the garrison in the upper part of the fort, than they hoisted a white flag, a signal for capitulation, and surrendered at discretion. The garrison of this fort consisted of three hundred men, out of which, at the time of surrender, there remained only thirty-five privates and five officers.

A. D.
1739.

The ships which sailed in before the admiral, were now fallen to leeward; but the Burford being exposed to the Gloria Castle, it continued firing at her till night, without however doing her any other damage than wounding her fore-top-mast a little above the rigging. The admiral then pointed some of his lower deck guns at this castle, and sent several shot over it into the town, one of which went through the governor's house.

On the morning of the 22d the admiral called a council of war, and it being thought not advisable to attack the Gloria Castle by day, orders were issued for warping the ships up the following night. This circumspection proved unnecessary. The Spaniards hoisted a white flag, and immediately sent a boat with a flag of truce, with terms on which they wished to capitulate; in answer to these the admiral returned other articles, and allowed them a few hours deliberation. They accepted his terms,* and

** Articles of Capitulation granted by Edward Vernon, Esq. Vice-admiral of the Blue, and Commander-in-chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the West Indies, and Commodore Brown, to Don Francisco Martinez de Retez, Governor of Porto Bello, and Don Francisco de Abareu, Commandant of the Guarda Costas, at the same Place, the 22d of November, 1739, O. S.*

I. That the garrison be allowed to march out, as desired, upon condition the king of Great Britain's troops be put into possession of the Gloria Castle before four o'clock this evening, and the garrison to march out by ten o'clock to morrow morning. That the inhabitants may either remove or remain, under a promise of security for themselves and their effects.

II. That the Spanish soldiers may have a guard, if they think it necessary.

III. That they may carry off two cannons mounted with ten charges of powder each, and their match lighted.

IV. The gates of the Gloria Castle must absolutely be in possession of the king our master's troops by four o'clock, and the Spanish garrison shall remain in all safety, for their persons and effects, till the appointed time for their marching out, and to carry with them the provisions and ammunition necessary for their safety.

V. That the ships, with their apparel and arms, be absolutely delivered up to the use of his Britannic majesty; but that all the officers, soldiers and crews, shall have three days allowed them to retire with all their personal effects, only one officer being admitted on board each ship and vessel, to take possession for the king our master, and to see this article strictly complied with.

VI. That provided the articles above-mentioned are strictly complied with, and that possession is given of Castle St. Jeronimo, in the same manner as is stipulated for the Castle Gloria, then the clergy, the churches, and town, shall be protected and preserved in all their

the British troops took immediate possession of the Gloria and St. Jeronimo forts.

There were in the harbour of Porto Bello two Spanish guarda-costas of twenty guns each, and an armed snow. The crews of these vessels, choosing to anticipate the British sailors, plundered the town in the night, and committed great outrages on the inhabitants. The English seamen and soldiers, on the contrary, behaved with great decency and humanity, after they became possessed of the town; and, as a reward for their moderation and gallantry, the admiral distributed among them ten thousand dollars, which were just arrived in order to pay the Spanish troops. The admiral, having taken on board his fleet all the brass cannon and ammunition found in the several forts, he proceeded to demolish the fortifications; which was completely effected in three weeks, at the expense of one hundred and twenty-two barrels of Spanish gun-powder.* On the 27th of November, the Diamond, Captain Knowles, and on the 29th, the Windsor, Captain Berkley, and the Anglesea, Captain Reddish, arrived at Porto Bello, in consequence of orders, left by the admiral at the Leeward Islands, for these ships to follow him. On the 13th of December, the admiral, with his squadron, sailed for Jamaica, and on the 28th, being then off Carthagena,

immunities and properties; and that all persons already taken shall be set at liberty before our leaving the port.

Given under our hands on board his majesty's ship Burford, in Porto Bello harbour, this 22d of November, 1739, O. S.

E. VERNON.

CHA. BROWN.

I presume it will not be thought inconsistent with the dignity of history to record a piece of genuine wit in a common sailor, who, when the officer who commanded at the scaling of the Iron castle, ordered the troops to *halt*, cried—"Damn my eyes, captain, don't "let's *halt* till we are *crippled*."

* The admiral took on board, from the several batteries, forty pieces of brass cannon, ten brass field-pieces, four brass mortars, eighteen brass pattereroes, and spiked eighty pieces of iron ordnance.

he despatched Captain Rentone, in the Spanish snow, with the news to England.

Admiral Vernon, and the fleet under his command, certainly deserved the honour they acquired by the success of this expedition; nevertheless, it must be confessed, that their easy conquest must be in part attributed to the cowardice of the Spaniards in surrendering the first fort before a breach was made, and the other two before they were attacked. The Gloria castle was garrisoned by four hundred men, and was so regularly fortified that it might have sustained a long siege. Its lower battery had two bastions, and a curtain which mounted twenty-two guns, besides a line of eight guns facing the mouth of the harbour. There were also several other batteries both in the Gloria and St. Jeronimo, in the same direction, which, if properly served, would have rendered the entrance into the harbour exceedingly dangerous, if not impracticable.

The taking of Porto Bello, whilst it did honour to the British navy, reflected at the same time no inconsiderable degree of praise on the English ministry. There was an evident propriety in punishing the insolence of the Spaniards in the offending part. Porto Bello was an asylum for the guarda-costas, two of which were found in the harbour, and carried off by the admiral. But this was not the only service he rendered to his country in the destruction of Porto Bello. His success enabled him to extend his influence to Panama, where some of the factors and servants of the South Sea Company were confined. He wrote to the president of that place in the language of a conqueror, and the factors and servants were immediately sent to Porto Bello.

Captain Rentone, in the Triumph sloop, arrived in England, on the 12th of March, 1740, with the news of this expedition. * The whole nation became frantic with

* The news was known in England before his arrival. On the 11th Mr. Baker, master of Lloyd's coffee-house, waited on Sir R. Walpole,

joy. Congratulatory addresses were presented by parliament, by the cities of London, Bristol, &c. The commons granted every demand of the crown. They voted twenty-eight thousand land forces, besides six thousand marines; they provided for a powerful navy, and several men-of-war were added to those already in commission. *

There were at this time two considerable squadrons of English men-of-war in the Mediterranean; one at Gibraltar, commanded by Sir Chaloner Ogle, consisting of twelve sail, and the other on the Minorca station, commanded by Rear-admiral Haddock. But these fleets were only employed in cruizing on the coast of Spain and Italy, without any attempt to attack or annoy the enemy, except by now and then seizing a poor defenceless fly that happened unfortunately to fall into their web. The reader need not be informed that I allude to the capture of unarmed trading vessels by ships of war. A contemplative mind, reflecting on these maritime depredations, is naturally led to enquire, by what law of nature, or of nations, or on what principle of justice, princes at war thus seize the private property of each others subjects, in ships trading to other kingdoms? This procedure seems more extraordinary when we consider, that their land forces generally observe a different conduct. A general, in marching through an enemy's country, so far from robbing and imprisoning every peasant he meets, gives positive orders, that the person and property of individuals, not in arms,

with a letter, containing an account of Vernon's success. It was brought from Jamaica by a ship which sailed from thence, in company with Captain Rentone; and arrived at Dover a day before him.

* Viz.	SHIPS.	GUNS.	MEN.	CAPTAINS.
Colchester	80	....	600	.... Garlington.
Torhay	80	....	600	.... Parker.
Cambridge	80	....	600	.... Whorwood.
Pi. Frederic	70	....	480	.... Clinton.
Oxford	70	....	480	.... Lord Aug. Fitzroy.
Seven fire-ships.				

shall not be molested. He makes war against the prince, and not against the people individually. An admiral, on the contrary, takes every trading vessel he meets, robs the owners of their property, and sends the crew home to be confined as prisoners of war. Here then is a heavy punishment inflicted on persons who had neither intention nor power to commit any offence, or in any wise to injure those by whom the punishment is inflicted. I do not obtrude these reflections with any hope of influencing the conduct of the rulers of the earth: reason, justice, and humanity are not the privy-counsellors of kings. But perhaps the reader may not totally disregard these counsellors, and will therefore pardon this short interruption of the thread of our history.

A.D.
1740.

We now return to Admiral Vernon, the hero of this period. I have related above, that in the last month of the year 1739, he sailed with his squadron from Porto Bello to Jamaica. He continued at Port Royal, in that island, till the 25th of February, 1740, following, on which day he sailed for Carthagena, which he bombarded at intervals during three days, with no other effect than that of terrifying the inhabitants, and injuring some of their churches and convents. * What was intended by this bombardment is not very evident. On the 10th of March the squadron weighed anchor, and sailed in line of battle westward along the coast. In passing by Boca Chica, they were saluted with a few shot from three small forts near the mouth of the harbour, but they fell short of the ships. The admiral, having ordered the Windsor and the Greenwich to cruize off Carthagena, proceeded with the rest of his fleet to Porto Bello, in order to repair the damages sustained by the small craft in the late bombardment. This business being completed, and the fleet watered in about eight days, he sailed on the 22d, and

* London Gazette, June 29.

steering south-west along shore, entered the river Chegre, which is but a few leagues distant from Porto Bello. At the mouth of this river there was a castle, or fort, called St. Lorenzo, under the protection of which the guardacostas used to ride secure. The only two of these Spanish pirates, for they were little better, which now remained on this coast, were at this time in the river. The admiral, in going in, had the misfortune to be retarded by an accident which happened to his fore-top-sail-yard. He was on board the *Strafford*. This accident obliged him to make a signal for the *Norwich* to sail in before him, with the bomb-ketches, fire-ships, and tenders. The *Norwich* was then commanded by Captain Herbert, and the bomb-ketches, &c. were conducted by Captain Knowles, who came to an anchor at three in the afternoon, and began to bombard the fort that evening. The admiral's ship did not come to an anchor till ten o'clock at night. Far be it from me to insinuate that there was any want of personal courage in Admiral Vernon. But I take leave to advise all future admirals, to whom such an accident in the fore-top-sail-yard may happen, immediately to hoist their flag on board the leading ship. This, however, does not appear to have been a service of much danger. The castle mounted only eleven brass cannon, and as many pattereroes. Nevertheless it sustained a furious bombardment, and a continued cannonade from three of the largest ships in the fleet, till the morning of the 24th, when the garrison surrendered, and the fort was immediately possessed by the British troops. *

* *Articles of Capitulation between Edward Vernon, Esq. Vice-Admiral, &c. and Don Julian Carlos Zavellos, Captain of Foot, &c.*

I. That, upon his Britannic majesty's troops being put in possession of the fort St. Lorenzo, at the mouth of the river Chegre, the said captain, and all his garrison, be at free liberty to march out without any molestation, and may retire into the village of Chegre, or where else they please.

There were found in the custom-house, on the opposite side of the river, four thousand three hundred bags of Peruvian bark, and other merchandize, which were shipped on board the fleet, together with the brass ordnance above-mentioned. The custom-house was then set on fire, the two guarda-costas destroyed, and the fort entirely demolished; after which the admiral returned to Porto Bello, where he arrived on the 1st of April.

While Vernon was thus employed in the West Indies, our fleets in Europe were unemployed. I mean to say, that they achieved nothing against the enemy; for as to employment, they had enough of sailing and counter-sailing, and of fighting too, with adverse winds. On the 23d of July, a fleet of twenty-one ships of the line, commanded by Sir John Norris, with two other admirals, viz. Sir Chaloner Ogle, and Philip Cavendish, sailed from St. Helen's with a fair wind, the duke of Cumberland serving on board as a volunteer. But the wind shifting, they were obliged, after being three days at sea, to put back into Torbay. On the 4th of August, they sailed again, with the wind at north-east, and, on the following day, were within a few leagues of the Lizard; but on the 6th, it blew so violently from the west, that they were obliged once more to return to Torbay. On the 22d, they made a third attempt; and after five days obstinate contention with tempestuous contrary winds, were a third time obliged to return to the same place. What was the destination of this fleet remains a matter of doubt. Probably the Spanish squadron, at that time at Ferrol, was the

II. That the inhabitants may remain in all safety in their own houses, under a promise of security to their persons and houses.

III. That the guarda-costa sloops be delivered up in the condition they are, and the custom-house.

IV. That the clergy and churches in Chegre shall be protected and preserved in all their immunities.

E. VERNON.

object. But, be the design whatsoever it might, it was now relinquished, and the admiral, with the duke of Cumberland, returned to London. Thus began, and thus ended the naval history of his royal highness, who probably concluded, from this inauspicious essay, that he had mistaken his element.

In this year, the celebrated Commodore Anson began his voyage to the South Seas. He sailed from St. Helen's with five men-of-war on the 18th of September. About two months after, Sir Chaloner Ogle sailed for the West Indies with twenty-one ships of the line, and a considerable body of land forces, commanded by Lord Cathcart. This formidable fleet, which consisted of one hundred and seventy sail, * had scarcely taken its departure from the Land's End, before it was scattered and dispersed by a violent tempest. The admiral nevertheless pursued his voyage, and came to an anchor in the neutral island of Dominica, in order to take in wood and water. In this island, the expedition sustained an irreparable loss in the death of Lord Cathcart, a brave and experienced officer, who died of a dysentery. The command of the land forces now devolved upon General Wentworth, an officer of no experience, and of very moderate abilities. The admiral, in his voyage from Dominica to Jamaica, sailing near the island of Hispaniola, discovered four large ships of war. He made signal for an equal number of his squadron to give them chase. The chase refused to bring to, and Lord Augustus Fitzroy, who commanded the English detachment, gave one of them a broadside, and an engagement ensued, which continued during part of the night. In the morning they hoisted French colours, and consequently the firing ceased, there being at this time no declaration of war between the two nations. The commanders apologized to each other for the mistake, and parted, but with loss of men on both sides.

* Smollet's History, vol. vii. p. 287.

A.D.
1741.

Sir' Chaloner Ogle arrived off Jamaica on the 9th of January, 1741, where he joined Admiral Vernon, who now commanded a fleet of thirty ships of the line, with a considerable number of frigates, bomb-ketches, fire-ships, &c. * The number of seamen was about fifteen thousand, and that of the land forces at least twelve thousand, including four battalions raised in America, and five hundred negroes from Jamaica. This very formidable armament, doubtless the most tremendous that ever appeared in those seas, was certainly equal to any attempt against the Spanish settlements. Their treasure might have been intercepted, and their colonies easily reduced. But the complete humiliation of Spain was prevented by the concurrence of a variety of circumstances. The British ministry, for reasons best known to themselves, detained the fleet at Spithead much too long. For the credit of human nature, I am willing to believe, that the prime minister was not so exceedingly wicked as to endeavour, by retarding the fleet, to frustrate the expedition; and yet, to the disgrace of human nature, I fear there have been instances of ministers so diabolical as to be influenced by very ignoble passions, in opposition to the interest and dignity of the nation, with whose weal they were entrusted. It seems however, a safe maxim in politics, not to commit the management of a war to a minister who shall have repeatedly declared his disapprobation of the measure. But be the designs of the minister what they might, it is scarcely possible to suppose that the admiral was not hearty in the cause; and yet it was near the end of January before he sailed from Jamaica, though he certainly was not ignorant that the season was already too far advanced, in a climate where the rains, which begin about the end of April, render it impossible for troops to keep the field.

* Vide Appendix, No. 1.

I must here take occasion to observe, that the admiral's orders were discretionary ; he might therefore have made his attack on any of the Spanish settlements. The Havannah, which was certainly an object of the greatest importance, lay to leeward, and might easily have been reached in less than three days. Nevertheless, Admiral Vernon thought fit to beat against the wind to Hispaniola, with an intention, as it was said, to observe the French fleet. On the 15th of February, he learnt, that this fleet had sailed for Europe, having previously sent an advice-boat to Carthagena, to inform the Spaniards of Vernon's being in those seas. The admiral called a council of war, and it was determined to land on the continent of New Spain. Accordingly, after spending some days in taking in wood and water at Hispaniola, the fleet sailed, and, on the 4th of March, came to an anchor in a bay called Playa Granda, to windward of Carthagena. This fleet consisted of one hundred and twenty-four sail, the sight of which must have struck such terror into the Spaniards, that nothing but want of resolution and despatch could have prevented its success. There cannot be a truer maxim in the art of war, than, that hesitation in the assailant inspires the defendant with courage, which augments progressively in proportion to the delay. But the commanders of this fleet and army, as if determined to give the enemy time to recover from their surprise, remained inactive in the bay till the 9th. On that day, the first division of the fleet, commanded by Sir Chaloner Ogle, followed by Admiral Vernon with all the transports, moved forward to the entrance of the harbour called Boca Chica, which was defended by several formidable batteries. The third division, commanded by Commodore Lestock, remained at anchor. The Norfolk, the Russel, and the Shrewsbury anchored very near two forts called St. Jago and St. Philip, which being silenced in less than an hour, were immediately possessed by a detachment of British grenadiers.

On the 10th, the two regiments of Harrison and Wentworth, with six regiments of marines, landed on the island of Tierra Bomba, where, having pitched their tents, they began to erect a battery against the castle of Boca Chica. Five days more were employed in landing the artillery and necessary stores. But General Wentworth's want of knowledge in the art of war, soon discovered itself in the choice of his ground ; for the tents were no sooner pitched, than the soldiers found themselves exposed to the fire of a fascine battery from the opposite side of the harbour, on the island of Varu. To remedy this evil, the admiral immediately detached a considerable number of sailors under the command of Captain Boscawen, who landed about a mile to leeward of the battery, which mounted fifteen twenty-four pounders, under a raised battery of five guns. These intrepid sons of Neptune soon gained possession of both batteries, and, having spiked the cannon, returned to their ships.

On the 22d, General Wentworth opened a battery of twenty twenty-four pounders against the castle of Boca Chica, and the next day Commodore Lestock with five ships was ordered to attack it by sea. He renewed his attack on the 24th, and on that day fell Lord Aubrey Beauclerc, captain of the Prince Frederic, a very brave and experienced officer. Meanwhile the Spaniards had remounted their fascine battery, which was a second time destroyed by a detachment of sailors. A small breach being now made on the land side of Boca Chica castle, the general acquainted the admiral with his resolution to storm it, who, in order to divert the attention of the enemy, manned his boats under the command of Captain Knowles. The sailors landed near the castle, and there waited for the general assault. The grenadiers, on the other side, marched up in good order ; but they no sooner began to mount the breach, than the garrison fled without firing a single musket. The garrison of another fort, called St. Joseph, followed their example, and our sailors

took immediate possession of it. Emboldened by this success, and perceiving the enemy preparing to sink their ships, they boarded the Spanish admiral's ship, the *Galicia*, on board of which they found the captain and sixty men. There were in the harbour, when the attack of Boca Chica began, six Spanish men-of-war, two of which were now sunk, and one burnt by the Spaniards themselves. The sailors then proceeded to cut the boom, and thus opened a free passage for our ships into the lake. Next morning the fleet entered without molestation, but the wind blowing fresh and contrary, it was several days before they reached the narrow entrance into the harbour near the town. This entrance was defended by a considerable fortress, called *Castillo Grande*, mounting fifty-nine guns, which the enemy abandoned as soon as the ships approached.

Thus far all went well. The castles, forts, and batteries, which commanded the lake, were now in possession of the English. The entrance into this lake was doubtless an enterprize of no small danger and difficulty, the channel being commanded by two hundred cannon, those from the enemy's ships included. So far the admiral seems to have done every thing necessary on his part, by removing all obstacles in the way to conquest; and he was so confident of succeeding, that, on the 1st of April, he sent an express to the duke of Newcastle, with an account of his progress; on the receipt of which his grace, with the rest of the people of England, became frantic with joy and exultation. But with pain I proceed to record, that here our success ended. The next express brought a tale as humble as the former was triumphant. On this luckless 1st of April, * the sailors having opened a channel through the sunken wrecks of the enemy, the bomb-ketches, covered by two frigates, entered the harbour, and were, on the succeeding day, followed by three fire-ships, which were

* *London Gazette*, June 20.

so posted as to cover the intended landing of the troops. The Weymouth, Captain Knowles, got into the harbour on the 3d, and on the 5th, early in the morning, the troops began to land at a place called La Quinta, whence General Wentworth, at the head of fifteen thousand men, pushed forward, through a narrow defile, to an open ground about a mile from fort St. Lazar, which fort entirely commanded the town of Carthage. He met with some interruption in his march from a body of six or seven hundred Spaniards, and lost a few of his men ; but the enemy soon retired, and, in the evening of the 6th, the remainder of the English army were disembarked, and, having joined their general, the whole encamped on the plain above-mentioned.

Fort St. Lazar, the only remaining fortress, was well fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison. The general was of opinion, that any attempt to take it without regular approaches would be attended with much danger and difficulty. The admiral, on the contrary, was positive that it was practicable by escalade. From this time the demon of discord presided in their councils, and they began to entertain a sovereign contempt for each other's opinions. The general upbraided the admiral for not cannonading the town, and the latter reproached the former for not storming the fort. It was at length resolved in a council of war to attack St. Lazar by storm, the season being now too far advanced to allow time for erecting a battery of cannon in order to open a breach. In consequence of this resolution, on the 9th, before break of day, Brigadier-general Guise, with one thousand two hundred men, marched to the attack. Unfortunately his guides were slain before he reached the walls. His scaling-ladders, being applied at random, proved too short. The officers were disconcerted for want of orders. A general confusion ensued, and the troops were obliged to retire with the loss of six hundred men killed or wounded. By

this time the rains began to fall very heavily, and disease became so universal in the camp, that it was determined in a council of war to relinquish every idea of a farther attempt. The remnant of the army retired to their ships, and were re-embarked on the 16th. The admiral, in order to clear himself from any imputation of neglect, and to demonstrate the impracticability of taking the place with ships after the unsuccessful attack on St. Lazar, having previously converted the Spanish admiral's ship, *Galicia*, into a floating battery, warped her into the harbour as near to the town as possible. In this station she fired upon the town for some hours; but it appearing that she was at too great a distance to injure the walls, she was suffered to drive, and soon struck upon the sand. This experiment, how plausible soever it might seem, was by no means allowed to be satisfactory. An historian,* who was present, affirms, that in another part of the harbour there was space and water sufficient for four or five men-of-war to lie within pistol-shot of the walls of Carthagena. If this be true, the admiral was certainly inexcusable for not bringing his ships to bear upon the town during the attack upon St. Lazar.

The shattered remnant of this ill-fated army having returned to their ships, diseases, peculiar to the climate, raged with inconceivable malignity, and many brave men who had escaped the enemy died in their hammocks. The jarring chieftains were unanimous as to the expediency of retiring from this scene of destruction and disgrace. A few days were spent in destroying the forts already taken, and then the fleet sailed for Jamaica.

As the rational design of historical writings is not merely to gratify the reader's curiosity, but rather to exhibit examples of vice and folly, virtue and sagacity, for his occasional abhorrence or imitation, I shall endeavour to point out the causes of the miscarriage of this important expedi-

* Smollet's History, vol. vii. p. 337.

tion. Some future commander of an attack upon Carthage may possibly deem this investigation worthy of his attention.

The old adage, that, a bad beginning commonly produces a bad ending, is more frequently verified in the catastrophe of naval expeditions, than in any other species of human transactions. It is always in the power of a malignant prime minister to frustrate the best concerted attempt, if he be influenced by passions or policy to wish that it may not succeed; and I fear there have been very few prime ministers so disinterestedly dispassionate, as sincerely to wish the success of measures adopted in opposition to their advice. Sir Robert Walpole's consent to a war with Spain, was evidently an involuntary compliance with the clamour of opposition, and of the nation in general. The fleet was not only unnecessarily retarded at Spithead, but the troops which were put on board, were raw and undisciplined. The fleet ought certainly to have sailed at least a month earlier; for though there might be barely time to execute the plan proposed, naval expeditions are, in their nature, liable to so many causes of delay, that they will not admit of nice calculation in point of time. But if this ministerial delay were inexcusable, what shall we say of the dilatory proceedings of the admiral, who was certainly better acquainted with the climate?

From the above account of this unsuccessful expedition we learn, that our fleet and army were no sooner in possession of all the forts which defended the lake, than the admiral and general began to quarrel; their animosity daily increased, and their mutual contempt became at last so excessive, that the glorious cause in which they were engaged seemed less the object of their attention, than the means of effecting each other's disgrace. But the mischief did not end with the commanders: each had his separate cabal, and the spirit of discord was diffused

misunderstanding is an evident proof that both the admiral and general, to say no worse of them, were weak men. If either of them had possessed the soul of a great commander, he would not have suffered the folly of the other to ruin an enterprize of such importance. Fools, it is true, are sometimes obstinate; but it is seldom difficult for dispassionate wisdom to flatter them into compliance; and certainly, on such an occasion, somewhat of punctilio should have been sacrificed to patriotism.

The attack upon St. Lazar was certainly absurd, and the hope of succeeding was doubtless founded solely on the facility with which the other forts had been possessed. This was a false conclusion; for that facility had rendered this fortress more formidable by an accumulation of troops. But, in order to give the least degree of probability to the success of this attack, the admiral ought, at the same time, to have cannonaded and bombarded the town with all the power of his fleet. He might certainly have brought more ships into the harbour, and they might with safety have brought up much nearer to the walls. When the French took Carthagena in 1697, the firing from the ships contributed essentially to their success; but they landed a considerable train of artillery, with which they made a breach in the walls of the town, and then bravely fought their way into it. I also take leave to remind the reader, that, in the year 1740, Admiral Vernon bombarded the town of Carthagena from the sea. As therefore he had now so many ships more than he wanted, why did he not leave some of them on the coast, with orders to co-operate with the fleet in the harbour and the army, in the moment of a general attack? Upon the whole, Wentworth appears to have done all in his power, and his troops do not seem in any wise to have disgraced their country; but, alas! the resolutions by which they had the misfortune to be directed, were the result of jarring deliberations among the incongruous inhabitants of different

elements. The general might be culpable in not treating the admiral with that degree of respect which his late victory gave him some reason to expect; but the latter was certainly inexcusable in not assisting the former in the reduction of the town. This conduct in the admiral will appear exceedingly reprehensible, if, upon a careful survey of the forts and harbour, it should appear, that, after the reduction of the several fortresses commanding the lake, the town might be reduced by a fleet, without the assistance of a land army: and the truth of this supposition seems so extremely probable, that I verily believe Vernon would have taken it, if the troops had never been landed, or if he had had no troops to assist him in the attempt. It is very evident that the town of Carthagena may be easily bombarded both from the sea and from the harbour; and it is equally certain, that no town in which there are any number of opulent inhabitants, will sustain that species of destructive insult for any length of time; they will rise upon the garrison, and oblige them to capitulate.

Be this as it may, though the English sailors and soldiers were disappointed of their expected spoils of the enemy, they retired with the satisfaction of having done the Spaniards great injury in the destruction of many considerable fortifications, in spiking a number of cannon, and in annihilating six men-of-war and six galleons, besides many other vessels.

Let us now follow the English fleet to Jamaica, where it arrived on the 19th of May. The climate of this island did not contribute much toward the recovery of the sick, many of whom died after their arrival; among the rest Lord Augustus Fitzroy, captain of the Orford. Vernon, on his arrival at Jamaica,* having received orders from England to retain in the West Indies no more ships than

* London Gazette, July 25, 1741.

were necessary, sent home several men-of-war under the command of Commodore Lestock. * The remainder of his fleet were deemed quite sufficient; there being, at this time, but one Spanish squadron at the Havannah, and a small French fleet at Hispaniola. It is very certain that the admiral was so exceedingly dissatisfied with his colleague Wentworth, that he ardently wished to return to England: but the king had conceived so high an opinion of his abilities, and the letters which the admiral received from the duke of Newcastle were so extremely flattering, that he determined to continue in his station. On the 26th of May, he called a general council of war, the members of which were himself, Sir Chaloner Ogle, General Wentworth, General Guise, and Governor Trelawny. The four first of these gentlemen were unanimous in opinion, that St. Jago on the island of Cuba was the proper object of attack. Governor Trelawny, on the contrary, thought Cuba of little importance, and strenuously advised an expedition against Panama on the isthmus of Darien. The governor, however, acquiesced, and raised a corps of a thousand negroes, which were put on board the fleet with all possible expedition.

This armament, which sailed from Jamaica on the first of July, † consisted of eight ships of the line, one of fifty guns, twelve frigates, &c. ‡ and about forty transports,

* These were, the Carolina, Russel, Norfolk, Shrewsbury, Amelia, Torbay, Chichester, Hampton Court, Buiford, Windsor and Falmouth; besides five frigates.

† London Gazette, Oct. 27.

VICE-ADMIRAL VERNON.

FRIGATES.		GUNS.
‡ Viz. Shoreham	Chester....Captain Long	.... 50
Alderney	Grafton Rycant	.... 70
Strombolo	Boyne .. (Admiral) Watson	.... 80
Phæton	Worcester Cleland	.... 60
Bonetta	Tilbury Dent	.... 60
Princess Royal		
Pompey		
Triton		

on board of which, including blacks, were three thousand four hundred land forces. The fleet came to an anchor, on the 18th, in Walthenham harbour, on the south side of the isle of Cuba. The admiral, fully determining to annex for ever this fine island to the dominions of his Britannic majesty, began by changing the name of *Walthenham* into that of *Cumberland* harbour, in compliment to his royal highness the duke. With submission to commanders of fleets, invading an enemy's country, I should think it most adviseable to avoid this parade of giving names to places which were named before, unless they are perfectly certain 'of being able to maintain their conquest; because the spurious appellation, after their departure, will be recollected only as a memorandum of their disgrace. This harbour, howsoever called, was a very capacious and secure asylum against the hurricanes so frequent in the West Indies at this season of the year: it was therefore a desirable possession, particularly as it was acquired without molestation. The island of Cuba is not only the largest of the Antilles, but it is also said to be the most fruitful and healthy of any in the West Indies.

There were, at this time, twelve Spanish ships of the line at the Havannah, a populous city on the west side of the island, where the governor resides, and where there were strong fortifications and a numerous garrison. For these reasons, though the conquest of the whole island was ultimately intended, it was thought advisable to begin with St. Jago, a less considerable city on the eastern coast. Walthenham harbour lies about eleven leagues south-

REAR-ADMIRAL SIR CHALONER OGLE.

FRIGATES.		GUNS.
Experiment	Kent (Captain) Mitchel	70
Sheerness	Cumberland (Adm.) Norris	80
Vesuvius	Tyger	Herbert 60
Searborough	Montague	Chambers .. 60

west from St. Jago, and distant by land about sixty miles, on which side the city is almost entirely defenceless. Its fortifications to the sea were not formidable, but the entrance into the harbour is so extremely narrow, and the navigation so dangerous, that nature has sufficiently secured it from a naval attack. On these considerations it was resolved, in a general council of war, holden on board the admiral, on the 20th of July, to land the troops immediately, and take the city of St. Jago by surprize.

The troops were accordingly disembarked, and meeting with no opposition, marched some miles up the country, and encamped on the banks of a navigable river. From this encampment General Wentworth detached several reconnoitring parties, which falling in with small bodies of the enemy, repulsed them with very little loss on either side. One of these reconnoitring parties, consisting of one hundred and fifty Americans and negroes, commanded by Major Dunster, penetrated as far as the village of Elleguava, where he continued some time; but not being supported by the main army, he returned to the camp. Meanwhile Admiral Vernon despatched part of his fleet to block up the port of St. Jago, and to watch the motions of the Spanish admiral at the Havannah, expecting with the utmost impatience the progress of the army. But, on the 5th of October, he had the mortification to receive a letter from General Wentworth, expressing his doubts of being able either to advance farther, or even to subsist his army much longer in the part which they then possessed. On the 9th the general called a council of war, the members of which were unanimously of opinion, that it was impossible to march farther into the country, without exposing the troops to certain ruin. The army nevertheless continued in its encampment till the 7th of November, when another council of war, consisting of the land-officers only, resolved, that the troops ought to be re-embarked with all possible expedition; and they were

accordingly put on board their transports on the 20th, without the least molestation from the enemy.

Thus ended the *conquest* of the isle of Cuba, the inhabitants of which were, from the incomprehensible conduct of the British troops, at last persuaded that they landed without any hostile intentions. The good people of England grew extremely dissatisfied, impatient of news, and as much astonished at the cautious inactivity of General Wentworth, as they are at this moment, October the 5th, 1777, * at the manœuvres of their general who is to conquer America. But the people of England, who reason only from appearance, and are guided solely by common sense, are very incompetent judges of the actions of great generals and great ministers. A general, though absolute at the head of his army, is a mere instrument in the hands of the prime minister, and must fight or not fight according to his private instructions. Some of the politicians, of the period of which I am now writing, were of opinion, that our making conquests in the West Indies was disagreeable to France, and that a French war was to be avoided at all events : others did not scruple to insinuate, that the minister did all in his power to frustrate every attempt in the prosecution of a war into which he had been forced by the opposition ; and a third class of people attributed this miscarriage entirely to the general's want of skill and resolution. Whatsoever might be the real cause of this very extraordinary supineness in the British troops, there are very few incidents in history which afford more apparent foundation for censure. St. Jago, which was not above four days march, for light troops, from Cumberland harbour, was in a great measure defenceless on the land side, and therefore might have been easily surprized. There was no army in the country

* General Howe sailed from New York on a secret expedition in August, and no accounts of him had arrived in England at this period.

to oppose an enemy, therefore why it was not immediately attempted is very difficult to conceive ; unless we suppose that the officers had no inclination to make conquests in so fatal a climate, where, if they had succeeded, they would have been left in garrison. As to their resolution of returning to their ships, after remaining four months on the island, it was certainly proper ; for by this time their number was so exceedingly decreased by the diseases of the climate, that probably, in another month, there would scarcely have been a man left to bring home the tale of their disasters.

When we consider the number of men sacrificed to the climate in this, and in the preceding attempt against Carthagena, one cannot help wishing, if humanity be admissible in politics, that future ministers would not wantonly transport so many thousands of Europeans to a climate where it is almost impossible for them to exist. Possibly the political system of Great Britain may sometimes require such sacrifices ; but one would hope, that nothing but the most inevitable necessity would authorize such destruction of the human species.

Before we quit this expedition, we cannot avoid inquiring into the design of it. That General Wentworth did not act his part in the reduction of St. Jago is pretty evident. But suppose that town had been taken, what then ? Would the island have fallen in consequence ? By no means. The Havannah was strongly fortified, well garrisoned, and defended by twelve ships of the line : so that any idea of reducing the whole island seems to be entirely out of the question. What possible advantage could therefore result from taking St. Jago ? It may be answered, That a reinforcement of two thousand marines was expected from England. This supply, however, was a precarious expectation. They did not arrive at Jamaica till the 15th of January : and had they even arrived two months sooner, the army would still have been inadequate

to the reduction of the Havannah, and consequently insufficient to conquer the island, or even to maintain their ground for any length of time; and yet the heroes of this expedition were so confident of success, that they not only entered upon it by giving English names to the enemy's harbours and rivers, but they actually invited new settlers from North America, and promised them grants of land. *

From these considerations it follows, that, though General Wentworth may be justly censured for performing nothing, yet all he could possibly have done would have answered no rational purpose; and the expedition was no less injudiciously planned than pusillanimously executed.

The troops were re-embarked on the 20th of November, and on the 25th it was resolved in a general council of war, that the general, with the troops under his command, should return to Jamaica, and that the fleet should continue to cruize off Hispaniola in search of the expected reinforcement from England. The transports sailed on the 28th, and the admiral on the 6th of December, with the remaining squadron, consisting of eight ships of the line, a fire-ship, an hospital-ship, and two tenders. But before we take an entire leave of Cuba, it is necessary, in justice to the navy, to inform the reader, that, while the troops were on shore, the fleet was not quite inactive. The Worcester took a Spanish man-of-war of twenty-four guns; the Defiance took a register ship laden with provisions for Carthagena; and the Shoreham took another vessel with seventy thousand pieces of eight on board.

Having closed the naval transactions of the year 1741, in the West Indies, I must recal the reader's attention to the progress of Commodore Anson, who, I before men-

* See Governor Shirley's speech to the council at Boston, September 23, 1741.

tioned, had sailed from St. Helen's on the 18th September, 1740,* with a squadron of five men-of-war, a small sloop, and two victuallers.† This expedition was originally planned prior to the declaration of war with Spain, and was rationally founded on a design of seizing the wealth of that kingdom at its source, and thereby depriving the enemy of the means of executing their hostile intentions. There were indeed at first two separate fleets destined for this service; one of which was to have been commanded by Mr. Cornwall, and the other by Mr. Anson. The first was to have sailed round Cape Horn into the South Seas, and the other directly to the East Indies. These two squadrons were to have met at Manilla, where they were to expect farther orders. This project seemed well calculated to humble the pride and insolence of Spain; because their remote settlements were, at this time, almost entirely defenceless, and several of the most important of them might probably have been surprized before they had intelligence of a war between the two nations. The original scheme, however, was laid aside, and it was determined that one squadron only should be sent to the South Seas, of which Mr. Anson should have the command.

This deviation from the original plan was no less displeasing to Mr. Anson than to Sir Charles Wager, by whom it was first proposed, and who was equally ignorant of the reasons which induced the ministry to lay it aside. However, on the 10th of January Mr. Anson received his

* Anson's Voyage by Walter, chap. 1.

	SHIPS.	GUNS.	MEN.	
† Viz.	The Centurion	60	400	Geo. Anson, commander
	Gloucester	50	300	Richard Norris
	Severn	50	300	Edward Legge
	Pearl	40	250	Matthew Mitchell
	Wager	28	160	Danby Kidd
	Tryal	8	100	Hon. Geo. Murray.

commission as commodore of the squadron above mentioned. The king's instructions were dated the 31st of the same month, which, nevertheless, Mr. Anson did not receive before the 28th of June following. He then went down to Portsmouth, where his squadron lay, in full expectation of sailing with the first fair wind; for though he knew that he was at least three hundred men short of his complement, he had been assured that the deficiency would be supplied from Sir John Norris's fleet then at Spithead. But Sir John did not chuse to part with any of his sailors. This disappointment was another cause of delay, and all that Mr. Anson could at last obtain was one hundred and seventy men, ninety-eight of whom were marines, and thirty-two from the hospitals.

According to the first plan, Bland's entire regiment of foot and three independent companies were to have embarked on board this fleet. But it was afterwards resolved, that the land forces should consist of five hundred out-pensioners of Chelsea hospital, of which only two hundred and fifty-nine of the most feeble were embarked, all those who were able to walk having deserted. On such occasions it is not easy to determine which most to execrate, the heads or hearts of those who are entrusted with the management of public affairs. It surely requires a very moderate degree of understanding to know that such troops, so far from being serviceable, must necessarily prove a burdensome obstruction to the success of an expedition, which, from its nature, required health, strength, and vigour, in their utmost degree of perfection. As to heart, can any thing be imagined more inhuman, than treacherously to drag from their peaceful habitations, and from the enjoyment of the scanty reward of past services, a number of decrepid old men, conscious of their inability to render further service to their country, and certain of an inglorious catastrophe? To supply the place of the two hundred and forty invalids who had

deserted, two hundred and ten marines, newly raised and totally undisciplined, were ordered on board, the last detachment of which embarked on the 8th of August, and on the 10th the squadron sailed from Spithead to St. Helen's, there to wait for a fair wind.

If Mr. Anson's squadron had now been suffered to proceed, he might have tided it down the channel without waiting for a fair wind ; but the lords justices, the king being then at Hanover, ordered him to sail from St. Helen's in conjunction with the two fleets commanded by Admiral Balchen and Sir Chaloner Ogle, amounting, in all, to one hundred and forty-five sail. Now it being impossible for so numerous a fleet to proceed, with safety, without an easterly wind, forty days more were spent in hourly expectation of a favourable breeze. At last, on the 9th of September, Mr. Anson received orders to proceed with his own squadron, independent of the rest. He sailed on the 18th, and in four days got clear of the channel.

I have dwelt a little upon this very extraordinary delay, and its several causes, because to this very unaccountable conduct of administration may rationally be ascribed the many hardships, dangers, and disappointments experienced in the progress of this expedition. It seems indeed exceedingly inconceivable, that an expedition appointed early in the month of January, should not have proceeded till late in September. But so it was, and the consequences were such as might easily have been foreseen. The squadron was not only, by this delay, obliged to double Cape Horn in the most tempestuous season of the year, but the Spaniards, in every part of the globe, were informed of its destination.

Having cleared the channel, Mr. Anson steered for the island of Madeira ; but, as if all nature as well as art had conspired to retard his progress, he was forty days on a passage which is frequently made in ten. However, at

last, after this tedious contention with adverse winds, he arrived at Madeira on the 25th of October. He immediately visited the governor, who informed him, that for several days past there had appeared to the westward of the island seven or eight men-of-war, which he supposed to be Spanish. Mr. Anson despatched a sloop to reconnoitre this squadron, and the sloop returned without any intelligence. This was in truth a Spanish squadron of seven ships of the line and a Patache, which were sent for the sole purpose of counteracting Mr. Anson's operations in the South Seas. They had on board a regiment of foot, intended to strengthen some of their garrisons, and two of the ships were destined for the West Indies. Their commodore was Don Joseph Pizarro. Of the five ships that sailed for the South Seas, but one returned to Europe, the rest having either foundered at sea, or were wrecked or broken up in the course of the voyage.

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On the 3d of November, Mr. Anson left Madeira, and crossed the line on the 28th. He arrived at the island of St. Catherine, on the coast of Brazil, on the 21st of December, where he repaired such of his ships as had suffered in the voyage, took in wood and water, regaled his people with fresh provisions, and recovered some of his sick. But he neither found the climate so healthy, nor the Portuguese so hospitable, as represented by former voyagers. The governor of the island perfidiously despatched a vessel to the Spanish admiral, then at Buenos Ayres, with an account of Mr. Anson's strength and condition, during his continuance in this neutral port.

The squadron sailed from St. Catherine on the 18th of January, steering southward along the coast of America, toward Cape Horn. In so hazardous a voyage, at this season of the year, it was more than probable that the fleet would be separated, the commodore therefore appointed three several places of rendezvous: the first at St. Julian on the coast of Patagonia, the second at the

island of Socoro in the South Seas, and the third at Juan Fernandez. Soon after their departure from St. Catherine, the Pearl was separated, and did not rejoin the squadron till nearly a month after. On her return, Lieutenant Salt informed Mr. Anson, that Captain Kidd died on the 31st of January; that he had fallen in with the Spanish fleet above-mentioned, and that, mistaking one of their ships for the Centurion, he very narrowly escaped being taken. The English squadron anchored in the harbour of St. Julian on the 18th of February, principally with a design to repair the Tryal sloop, which had lost her main-mast in a squall. This business being finished, they sailed again on the 27th, and passed the Straits Le Maire on the 7th of March.

At this time their ships were in good condition, and their crews in tolerable health and spirits. They flattered themselves, that, as they were now entering into the Pacific Ocean, their dangers and difficulties would gradually vanish, and that Spanish treasures would soon reward their labour. But delusive were these expectations. They did not even clear the Straits without great danger, and they no sooner quitted the land than they found themselves exposed to all the horrors of impetuous winds, and waves turbulent and mountainous beyond all conception. They now began emphatically to execrate the causes of their late departure from Europe. This formidable squadron soon separated, never more to unite! After struggling with infinite variety of distress during two long months, the Centurion, Mr. Anson's ship, on the last day of April, found herself to the northward of the Straits of Magellan, and therefore concluded that she had secured her passage round Cape Horn. On the 8th of May, she arrived off Socoro, the first rendezvous in the Pacific Ocean. She cruized there, in extreme bad weather, above a fortnight, in hopes of rejoining some of the squadron; but being disappointed in this expectation, stood for the island of Juan Fernandez, where she arrived

on the 9th of June; but in so feeble a condition, that at this time not above twenty hands, officers included, were left capable of assisting in working the ship. The scurvy had made such terrible havock among the crew, that out of four hundred and fifty, their complement when they passed Strait le Maire, scarcely half that number were now living, and most of these were sick in their hammocks. The Tryal sloop reached the island about the same time, in the same distressful situation, and they were joined by the Gloucester on the 23d of July, which ship had lost three fourths of her crew, and would certainly never have been able to reach the island, but for the assistance sent her by the commodore after she was in sight. The Anna Pink, their victualler, came in about the middle of August, and this was the last ship of the squadron they ever saw.

The missing ships were the Severn, the Pearl, and the Wager store-ship. The two first parted company off Cape Noir, and put back to the Brazils. The latter pursued her voyage towards the island of Socoro, the first rendezvous in the Pacific Ocean. She made the land on the western coast of South America, on the 14th of May, in latitude 47, and the next morning struck upon a sunken rock, and soon after bulged. Most of the crew were landed on this desolate island, where they remained five months, and then about eighty of the sailors, in a schooner built by lengthening the long-boat, sailed back for the Brazils, leaving Captain Cheap and nineteen other persons on shore. These were by various accidents at last reduced to four, who were landed by an Indian on the coast of Chiloe, thence conveyed to St. Jago, where they continued a year, and three of them were finally sent to Europe on board a French ship, *vis.* Captain Cheap, Mr. Byron,* and Mr. Hamilton.

* Afterwards Admiral Byron.

We now return to Mr. Anson's squadron at Juan Fernandez, consisting of the Centurion, the Gloucester, the Tryal sloop, and the Anna Pink. The last of these being found totally unfit for service, was broken up. By the beginning of September the crews were pretty well recovered, though the whole number was, by this time, reduced to three hundred and thirty-five, boys included.

On the 19th of September, Mr. Anson, with his small squadron sailed from the island of Juan Fernandez, with a design to cruize near the continent of Spanish America. On this cruize he took three trading vessels of no great value; but from the passengers on board he received such intelligence as determined him to surprize the town of Païta, in latitude 50° 12' south. It consisted of about two hundred houses, and was defended by a small fort mounting eight guns. Fearful of alarming the inhabitants by the approach of his ships, he resolved to make the attempt by means of his boats only. While the squadron was yet at too great a distance to be perceived by the enemy, about ten at night he detached fifty-eight men, commanded by Lieutenant Brett, and conducted by two Spanish pilots. They landed without opposition, and soon took entire possession of the place. The governor, with most of the inhabitants, having had some previous notice from the ships in the harbour, fled into the country at their approach, and continued parading on the hills. The English remained three days on shore; during which time they sent all the treasure they could find on board their ships. They then set fire to the town and re-embarked, having lost only two men in the enterprize. The booty they carried off amounted to about thirty thousand pounds. The loss sustained by the Spaniards was estimated at a million and a half of dollars.

While Mr. Anson was thus engaged, the Gloucester, which had been sent on a cruize, took two Spanish prizes with specie on board, amounting to nineteen

thousand pounds sterling. She joined the squadron two days after their departure from Païta, and they stood to the northward with a design to water at the island of Quibo, near the bay of Panama. At this island they arrived on the 4th of December. The commodore had indeed entertained some hopes of being reinforced from Admiral Vernon's squadron across the isthmus of Darien; but he learnt, from the papers found on board one of his prizes, that the attack upon Carthagena had failed. These hopes therefore immediately vanished, and he now determined to steer for the coast of Mexico, in expectation of falling in with the galleon which he supposed to be on her passage from Manilla to Acapulco. The squadron sailed from Quibo on the 12th of December, and did not make the coast of Mexico till the 29th of January. But, as this brings us to the transactions of the year 1742, we must now return to Europe, in order to take a view of the British navy nearer home to the end of the year 1741.

While Vernon and Anson were thus employed in America, the admirals Sir John Norris and Haddock commanded two formidable fleets in Europe. The first of these commanders sailed from Spithead on the 27th of July with sixteen ships of the line, and, steering for the bay of Biscay, began to cruize upon the coast of Spain. With this formidable fleet he might with the utmost facility have injured the enemy most essentially, by ravaging their coast and destroying their maritime towns, which were almost totally defenceless. Not only the British nation in general, but the Spaniards themselves, and every person on board, except the admiral, were confident that so powerful a fleet had some capital object in view. But, to the astonishment of all the world, except those who were admitted behind the curtain, in less than a month, Sir John Norris returned to Spithead with half his fleet, without having executed,

or even attempted, any thing worth relating. Part of the squadron continued cruising on the Spanish coast, and the Nassau and Lenox were sent to join Admiral Haddock, who, with thirteen men-of-war, spent the whole summer cruising in the Mediterranean, without achieving any thing sufficient to furnish a tolerable Gazette. The causes assigned for his being stationed in that sea were, to prevent the junction of the Spanish fleet at Cadiz with that of France at Toulon, and to intercept the troops which were intended to be transported from Barcelona to Italy, in order to act against the queen of Hungary. But unfortunately neither of these purposes were answered.

What were the private instructions given to Norris and Haddock will probably always remain a secret. Their respective characters as men of abilities and resolution stand unimpeached ; but abilities and resolution are not sufficient to complete the character of a naval commander. Probity is an indispensable ingredient. The man who is mean enough to accept of a command with ignominious restrictions, merits the obloquy which posterity will never fail to bestow.

On the 12th of October Sir John Norris sailed again for the coast of Spain with a fleet of ten men-of-war. The inhabitants of the towns along the shore were at first a little alarmed at his re-appearance ; but, finding him now no less harmless than before, they beheld the English fleet as an agreeable spectacle, and were at length fully persuaded that he was sent to parade along their coast merely for their amusement.

Notwithstanding the formidable state of our navy at this period, our trade was so ill protected, that, since the commencement of the war, the Spaniards had taken no less than three hundred and seventy-two of our trading vessels. The merchants of London and other ports were convinced that their losses were chiefly owing to neglect,

and they remembered the declaration of the minister, That as the war was their own, they must take the consequences. I have before animadverted on the imprudence of entrusting the conduct of a war to a minister who is forced into it by opposition. Sir Robert Walpole did every thing in his power to avoid a war with Spain, which, with a little of that spirit which Cromwell on a like occasion would have exerted, he might have avoided. The Spaniards presumed on a knowledge of Sir Robert's pacific disposition. That nation had indeed great reason to be dissatisfied with the illicit trade carried on by English vessels in the West Indies. If, instead of guarding their coasts by armed ships, they had complained to the British ministry, and if the British ministry had taken effectual methods to prohibit this illicit trade, in consequence of such complaint, peace between the two nations might have been preserved, and Sir Robert Walpole would have remained prime minister. He was averse to the war, because he foresaw that it would destroy his influence, and I am afraid he wanted magnanimity to exert a degree of patriotic zeal sufficient to render successful a war which he did not approve.

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Sir Robert Walpole, though extremely unpopular, had hitherto stood secure under the shelter of the throne. But the people of England were now so dissatisfied with this unsuccessful war with Spain, and particularly with his total neglect of the queen of Hungary in her distress, that, at the general election of a new parliament, a considerable majority of the independent voters, throughout the kingdom, opposed the court; many of Sir Robert's members were thrown out, and when the parliament met, the complexion of the house of commons was such, that a change of ministry became unavoidable. Sir Robert Walpole was created earl of Orford; he resigned all his employments, and found an asylum in the house of lords. The

leading patriots in both houses were either taken into the new administration, or silenced by titles, so that all inquiry into the conduct of the late minister fell to the ground. Mr. Sandys was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, the duke of Newcastle and Lord Carteret secretaries of state, and Mr. Pulteney was created earl of Bath.

These incidental matters being premised, we now return to the proper object of our history. Forty thousand seamen were voted for the service of the current year. The fleet in the Mediterranean, under Admiral Haddock, consisted of twenty-nine men-of-war. He resigned to Lestock on account of his declining health; but the new ministry gave the command to Admiral Mathews, who sailed from Spithead on the 16th of April, with the *Namur*, *Caroline*, *Russel*, and *Norfolk*. This admiral was also invested with the character of minister-plenipotentiary to the king of Sardinia and the states of Italy. As soon as he had assumed the command, being informed that five Spanish gallies lay at anchor in the bay of St. Tropez, he ordered Captain Norris to attack and destroy them;* which service was immediately and effectually performed. The united fleet of France and Spain was at this time in the harbour of Toulon: it consisted of thirty-six ships of the line. The British fleet, being joined by Rear-admiral Rowley, was somewhat superiour in number of ships. Mr. Mathews's instructions were to block up the Toulon fleet, and by cruizing on the coast to prevent any supplies being sent to the army in Provence. For this purpose, on the 2d of June, he stationed his two rear-admirals, Lestock and Rowley, with twenty-four ships, off the islands of Hieres, with orders to cruise for six weeks. While Mathews continued at Villa Franca, a French man-

* Smollet's History of England, vol. vii. p. 314.

of-war, passing by that port, in sight of the fleet, neglected to pay a proper compliment to the British flag. The admiral fired a gun as a signal for her to bring to, the Frenchman continued obstinate. Upon which Mr. Mathews ordered one of his ships to pursue and sink him, which was immediately executed by the first broadside. Meanwhile a part of the British fleet,* cruizing on the coast of Catalonia, bombarded the towns of Mataro and Palamos, in both which they destroyed many houses and many of their inhabitants. What had these wretched inhabitants done to offend the king of England? But such are the laws of war! If Christian princes believed in the religion they profess, surely they would not wantonly involve their innocent subjects in such calamities. But, if they must needs quarrel and fight, it were devoutly to be wished, that, by some general law of nations, the inoffensive part of their subjects might be secured from insult and devastation.

In the beginning of August, Admiral Mathews detached Commodore Martin with a squadron to the bay of Naples, with orders to compel his Sicilian majesty to recal his troops from the Spanish army in Italy. The Neapolitans were thrown into the utmost consternation at the appearance of an English fleet; expecting every moment a more dreadful thunder than that of Vesuvius. The king, however, to save his capital, signed a paper delivered to him by Mr. Martin, by which he engaged immediately to recal his troops, and to observe a strict neutrality during the war. Having performed this service, the commodore rejoined the admiral in the road of Hieres, which was now the general rendezvous of the British fleet. Toward the end of August, Mr. Mathews, being informed that the Spaniards had collected a considerable magazine at St. Remo, in the Genoese territories, caused a party of

* Rolt, vol. ii. p. 115.

sailors to be landed near that town in order to destroy it; and they executed their commission without any danger or difficulty. He likewise sent two ships with orders to take or destroy a Spanish man-of-war of the line, which lay at anchor at Ajaccio in the island of Corsica; but the Spaniard saved them the trouble, by first setting his men on shore, and then blowing up the ship.

Let us now take a temporary leave of Europe, in order to review the British fleet and army in the West Indies. We are to recollect, that, after the retreat from Carthage, the troops under General Wentworth returned to Jamaica, and Admiral Vernon with his squadron continued cruizing off Hispaniola in expectation of a reinforcement from England. But not meeting with the convoy, he returned to Jamaica on the 5th of January, where, on the 15th, arrived also the Greenwich, St. Alban and the Fox, with the expected reinforcement from England of two thousand marines. The principal officers, both of the army and navy, ruminating, with regret, on their two last unsuccessful expeditions, were unanimously of opinion, that they could not with any degree of credit, return to England without some farther attempt against the enemy. General councils of war were frequently holden, and it was at last determined to land at Porto Bello, march across the isthmus of Darien, and take the rich town of Panama. But, though this resolution was taken early in January, it was upwards of two months before the troops and transports were ready for embarkation. However, they embarked at last, and the whole fleet came to an anchor in the harbour of Porto Bello, in the evening of the 28th of March. This fleet consisted of eight sail of the line, three fire-ships and two hospital ships, with forty transports, on board of which were three thousand land forces, and five hundred negroes raised by Governor Trelawney, who himself attended the expedition. As soon as the fleet came to an anchor, the governor of Porto

Bello marched directly to Panama with three companies of Spaniards and two companies of Mulattoes. There being nothing to oppose the landing of the troops, the admiral imagined that they would proceed without delay ; but, to his great surprise, a council of the land-officers * resolved that the scheme was impracticable, and that it was therefore necessary to return to Jamaica. The reasons assigned for this resolution were, the season being too far advanced, their numbers being diminished by sickness and the separation of some of the transports, and their having received intelligence that the garrison of Panama had been lately reinforced. These reasons did not appear quite satisfactory to Mr. Vernon ; nevertheless, as, in their general councils of war, there was a majority of land-officers, his opinion was of no importance. That their number was somewhat reduced is most certain ; but there remained yet two thousand effective men ; an army more than sufficient, under a general of spirit and abilities, to have secured the treasure of Panama. Nothing can be more contemptible than this prudent timidity, when we consider that the attempt might have been made without the least risk, as there was no army in the whole country capable of meeting them in the field, and consequently, in case of a repulse, they might have returned without the least danger of being harassed in their retreat. Possibly these land officers would have had more resolution in a colder climate. The animal mercury in the human barometer seems to fall in proportion to its approximation to the sun. Be this as it may, the whole fleet sailed from Porto Bello in the beginning of April, and arrived at Jamaica on the 15th of May. On the 23d of September, the Gibraltar man-of-war arrived at Port Royal in that island, with a letter from the duke of Newcastle, ordering vice-admiral

* The officers present at this council of war were, General Wentworth, Colonel Frazer, Governor Treclawney, Colonel Leighton, Colonel Cope, Colonel Duroire, and Colonel Martin.

Vernon and General Wentworth to return immediately to England, and they returned accordingly.

Thus ended this vast enterprize against the Spanish settlements in America! in which enormous sums were expended, and ten thousand lives sacrificed, without the least benefit to the nation, or glory to the commanders. To inquire into the cause, or causes, of such a series of disappointments cannot, at this distance of time, be attributed to partiality or malevolence; and to neglect such inquiry were to frustrate the only rational design of history. The death of Lord Cathcart was the first misfortune, and probably the foundation of all that followed. Though this could neither be foreseen nor prevented, yet it may teach future ministers of state, that it is not sufficient to attend solely to the abilities of the commander-in-chief; the second, and even the third in command, should also be men equal to the command of an army. That General Wentworth wanted that determined intrepid alacrity so necessary in the execution of such enterprizes is self-evident. As to Vernon, he certainly did not want resolution, but it is pretty certain that his contempt for Wentworth prevented him from acting so cordially and vigorously as he ought to have done. He wished to have had the sole direction of every operation, and I must do him the justice to believe, that, if that had been the case, he would generally have succeeded.

I must now recal the reader's attention to Mr. Anson, whom we left in the Pacific Ocean, cruising on the coast of Mexico,* in hourly expectation of falling in with the annual Spanish galleon in her passage from Manilla to Acapulco. In these hopes he was disappointed; for he was informed by three negroes whom he surprised in a canoe, off the harbour of Acapulco, that the galleon arrived on the 9th of January, about twenty days before

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* Anson's Voyage, p. 332.

the squadron fell in with the coast. But he had the satisfaction to learn also, that her return was fixed for the 3d of March. This information was joyfully received, as the specie for which she had sold her cargo would render her a much more valuable prize than she would have been before her arrival at Acapulco.

All hands were now employed in preparing for the reception of the galleon, not doubting but this immense reward of their former sufferings would soon be in their possession ; for though the crews of the five ships amounted in all to no more than three hundred and thirty, boys included, and the hands on board the galleon were generally almost double that number; yet there was not a person on board the squadron, who had any other doubt, or fear, than that of her not sailing at the time appointed. Mr. Anson's fleet consisted of the *Centurion*, the *Gloucester*, the *Carmelo*, the *Carmin*, the *Tryal's* prize, and two cutters. With these five ships he formed a chain, commanding an extent of about twenty leagues, at such a distance from the harbour of Acapulco as not to be seen from the shore, and sent the two cutters every night nearer the shore, with orders to stand off again at the approach of day. In this disposition they expected the appointed day with the utmost impatience. The important day dawned at last, and every eye in the fleet gazed perpetually towards the land. The sun sunk beneath the horizon, and no ship appeared. Another day passed, and then a third, in fruitless expectation. In short, after waiting to no purpose till the 23d, the commodore rationally concluded, that the galleon was detained till the year following ; and this was really the case, in consequence of his barge having been seen by the enemy when she was sent to discover the harbour of Acapulco.

Having now remained on this station as long as his stores of wood and water would allow, Mr. Anson thought it expedient to prepare for his voyage to China, and it

being determined to recruit his stores at Chequetan, about thirty leagues west of Acapulco, he steered directly for that harbour, where he arrived on the 7th of April. The first business here, after a vain attempt to open an intercourse with the natives, was to unload and destroy the Carmelo, the Carmin, and the Tryal's prize, in order to strengthen the crews of the men-of-war, so as to enable them to undertake, with any degree of safety, the voyage across the Pacific Ocean. The business of watering, &c. being now finished, the Centurion and the Gloucester weighed anchor on the 28th of April, and proceeded on their voyage to China. They lost sight of the American mountains on the 8th of May. After contending with repeated gales of contrary winds, the Gloucester, having lost most of her masts, became so leaky that, on the 15th of August, it was found impossible to keep her any longer above water. The crew was therefore removed to the Centurion, and the Gloucester was set on fire. On the 28th, the Centurion arrived at Tinian, one of the Ladrone islands, in latitude 15° north, and 115° west of Acapulco. At this time so many of their people had perished, or were sick of the scurvy, that not quite a hundred men remained fit for duty. The number of the sick amounted to one hundred and twenty-eight, most of which recovered soon after landing on this fertile, healthy, and beautiful island. Here they remained till the 21st of October, on which day, the crew being now in good health, the Centurion stood out to sea, steering directly for the island of Macoa, a Portuguese settlement near the mouth of the river Canton in China. She made the land on the 5th of November, and came to an anchor, on the 12th, in the road near the city of Macoa.

After many provoking delays and difficulties, Mr. Anson at last obtained permission from the Chinese government to repair his ship and replenish his store of provisions. This business being at length effected to his satisfaction,

he put to sea on the 19th of April, 1743, and, though he had given out that he was bound for Batavia, he had resolved once more to try to intercept the Acapulco ship in her passage to Manilla. With this intention he returned to the Phillippine islands, and cruized off Cape Espiritu Santo on the Island of Samuel, that being the first land generally made by the galleons. He continued cruizing on this station till the 20th of June, when early in the morning, to the inexpressible joy of the whole crew, they discovered the long-expected galleon. The engagement soon began, and continued about two hours; after which the Spaniard struck, having sixty-seven men killed and eighty-four wounded. The Centurion had only two killed and seventeen wounded, who all recovered except one man. The treasure on board this galleon consisted of one million three hundred and thirteen thousand eight hundred and forty-three pieces of eight, and thirty-five thousand six hundred and eighty-two ounces of virgin silver, besides some cochineal and other merchandize, amounting in the whole to three hundred and thirteen thousand pounds sterling.

The commodore being now in possession of the reward of his toil, dangers, perseverance and resolution, with a crew on board, whose felicity cannot be easily imagined, returned to the river of Canton, where he came to an anchor on the 14th of July. His sole intention being to lay in the stores necessary for his voyage to England, he applied immediately to the Chinese government for leave to victual his ship; but such is the suspicious folly and absurd policy of that people, that after five months delay he was at last obliged to insist on an audience of the viceroy of Canton, before he could be supplied. Immediately after this audience his stores were sent on board, and on the 7th of December the Centurion and her prize unmoored and fell down the river. On the 12th, they anchored before the town of Macoa, where Mr. Anson

sold the galleon for six thousand dollars, and on the 15th proceeded on his voyage. He arrived at the Cape of Good Hope on the 11th of March, and sailing thence on the 3d of April, came to an anchor at Spithead on the 15th of June, 1744.

Having thus brought the fortunate Centurion safe to England, let us enquire into the exploits of our fleet in the West Indies. When Admiral Vernon returned home, the command of the fleet devolved on Sir Chaloner Ogle, who in the month of February detached Captain Knowles with eight men-of-war, having four hundred land forces on board, with orders to make an attack on the town of La Guira on the coast of Caraccas. Mr. Knowles accordingly proceeded; * he began his attack on the 18th about noon, and continued firing on the town till night, without any other effect than that of destroying some houses and churches. His ships were so shattered that he was obliged to desist, and to sail for Curacoa in order to refit. It was said that the Spaniards lost seven hundred men on this occasion; it is however certain that the English squadron had near a hundred men killed, and three times that number wounded.

Mr. Knowles having miscarried in his attack, was unwilling to return without a farther attempt to revive the faded laurels of his country. His ships being repaired, † he resolved to make an attack upon Porto Cavallo. The Spaniards were apprized of his design, and had taken effectual measures for their defence. The garrison, consisting of sailors, Indians, Mulattoes, and Blacks, amounted to about two thousand men; and the entrance into the harbour was secured by sunken vessels, and commanded by several fascine batteries. The squadron sailed from Curacoa on the 20th of March, but did not arrive off Porto Cavallo before the 15th of April. It was resolved to send in two men-of-war to cannonade the batteries,

* London Gazette, June 7.

† Ibid. June 14.

and the Lively and Eltham being immediately ordered upon this service, silenced the guns of the enemy before night. As soon as it was dark, the firing on both sides having ceased, Major Lucas with twelve hundred men, sailors and soldiers, landed on the beach, and, marching along shore, took possession of one of the fascine batteries. The Spaniards being now alarmed, two guns were fired from another battery upon the assailants, which throwing them into confusion, they began to fire upon each other, and with great precipitation retired to their ships. The British spirit being not yet quite subdued by this miscarriage, it was resolved in a council of war to make a general attack upon the castle and batteries at the same time: accordingly, on the 24th this general attack was begun by seven men-of-war; the Assistance, Burford, Suffolk and Norwich battered the castle; and the Scarborough, Lively, and Eltham fired upon the fascine batteries. The cannonading continued with great fury till nine at night, at which time the commodore made a signal to cut. It was indeed high time, for he had now lost two hundred men, and most of his ships had sustained considerable damage. His disgrace being now complete, Commodore Knowles made the best of his way to Jamaica, where he remained inactive during the remainder of the year.

Such were the achievements of the British navy in the West Indies during the year 1743. We were indeed peculiarly unsuccessful in that part of the world, every attempt against the enemy, since the taking of Porto Bello, having miscarried. Our commanders probably were not deficient in point of personal courage; but personal courage without abilities is frequently productive of disappointment and disgrace. In the Mediterranean the fleet under the command of Admiral Mathews continued still on its station at Hieres, without performing any signal service except preventing the French and Spanish fleets from sailing out of the harbour of Toulon.

The Spaniards in the course of this year took two hundred and sixty-two British prizes, valued at five hundred and sixty-seven thousand pounds sterling; and we took from them one hundred and forty-six ships, worth about seven hundred and fifty-four thousand pounds, including the Acapulco ship taken by Mr. Anson.

The naval promotions in this year were these: Sir John Norris made admiral of the red; John Balchen, Esq. admiral of the white; Thomas Mathews, Esq. vice-admiral of the red; Nicholas Haddock, Esq. vice-admiral of the white; Sir Chaloner Ogle, vice-admiral of the blue; James Steuart, Esq. rear-admiral of the red; Richard Lestock, Esq. rear-admiral of the white; Sir Charles Hardy, rear-admiral of the blue.

Though, in the preceding year, the French army was defeated by the king of Great Britain in person; though the French and Spanish fleets were united in the Mediterranean, yet between England and France there was no war.* However, in the beginning of the year, 1744, both nations threw off the mask. The dissensions in the British parliament at this time ran high, and the people in general were discontented. The Popish emissaries and Jacobites, in different parts of the kingdom, persuaded the French ministry, that a revolution in favour of the pretender might easily be effected, and Cardinal Tencin gave ear to their project, fully persuaded that the attempt would, at least, cause a considerable diversion from the continent. Charles, the second son of the Chevalier de St. George, was accordingly invited to Paris, where he arrived some time in the month of January. In the same month, a fleet of twenty French men-of-war sailed up the English channel, and seven thousand men were actually embarked at Dunkirk, with a design to invade England. These proceedings being immediately known in this kingdom, Sir John Norris was ordered to take the command of the

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* Smollér's History, vol. vii. p. 333.

fleet at Spithead, which being joined by several ships from Chatham, became superiour to that of France. At the same time, proper measures were taken for defending the coast in case of an invasion. The fleets of the two nations came within sight of each other; but the French admiral, conscious of his inferiority, thought fit to decline an engagement, and taking the advantage of a hard gale of wind, returned to the port from which he sailed. Thus ended this famous invasion, which was intended to restore the unfortunate family of Stuart to the throne of their ancestors, and the young adventurer was obliged to postpone the assertion of his pretensions to a more favourable opportunity.

I must now conduct the reader to the grandest scene exhibited during the whole war: a scene which for magnificence and importance hath rarely been equalled in any age, on any sea. Seventy-four men-of-war in the Mediterranean, all in view, at the same time, preparing to pour out their thunder, destructive of the human species, and decisive of the fate of nations! The great, the anxious expectation raised by such a prospect may be easily imagined; but the vast machinery was too stupendous for human management, and the heroic virtue of former ages was wanting to produce a glorious catastrophe.

The French and Spanish fleet, in the harbour of Toulon, consisted of twenty-eight sail of the line, and six frigates; that of England of twenty-eight ships of the line, ten frigates, and two fire-ships, all moored in the Bay of Hieres. The number of guns in the conjunct fleet was eighteen hundred and twenty, and of men sixteen thousand five hundred; the guns on board the British fleet were two thousand four hundred and ninety, and the number of men fifteen thousand. But the number of ships of the line was equal, and these were equally manned. However, on a comparative view of the whole force of each squadron, there was an evident superiority in favour of

the English, in justice to whom we must nevertheless remember, that, having been long at sea, their ships were foul, whilst those of the enemy were clean, and in fine sailing condition.

The courts of France and Spain, no longer able to support the disgrace of having their fleets blocked up in the harbour of Toulon, sent positive orders for them to proceed to sea at all events. On the 8th of February, they were perceived to be under sail, the French admiral, De Court, having hoisted his flag on board the *Terrible*. Admiral Mathews immediately made a signal for unmooring, and the British fleet got under weigh on the 9th, with all possible expedition. During this and the following day, these two tremendous fleets continued manœuvring in sight of each other, apparently endeavouring, like two land armies, to gain the advantage of situation. It was very evident that the French admiral had no inclination to fight, and his ships sailed so well that he might easily have escaped; but the Spaniards, either from want of skill or want of hands, proceeded so tardily, that it was impossible to bring them off.

On the 11th, at break of day, the two fleets were at a greater distance than on the preceding day, and Admiral Mathews had the mortification to find Mr. Lestock's division considerably astern. He now imagined that De Court's intention was to draw him towards the Straights, in expectation to draw a reinforcement from Brest; he therefore determined to engage the enemy as soon as possible, notwithstanding the irregularity of his line, his van and rear being at too great a distance from the centre. Accordingly, at half-past eleven, Admiral Mathews, made the signal to engage; which signal Lestock did not think proper to repeat. Indeed he was, at this time, so far astern, that he had no enemy to engage. Admiral Mathews, with the centre of the English, was opposite to the

enemy's rear, consisting of the Spanish squadron; and Rear-admiral Rowley, who commanded the van, was abreast of the enemy's centre. Thus were the two fleets situated when Admiral Mathews hoisted the signal for engaging. Himself in the *Namur*, and Captain Cornwall in the *Marlborough*, bore down upon the Spanish admiral and the *Isabella*, and began the attack about half-past one o'clock. At the same time, Captain Forbes in the *Norfolk* engaged the *Constant*, and the *Princessa*, *Somerset*, *Bedford*, *Dragon*, and *Kingston* fired at the *Poder*. About two o'clock, Rear-admiral Rowley in the *Barfleur*, and Captain Osborne in the *Caroline*, came up with the French admiral and the *Ferme*, and engaged them some time. The brave Captain Cornwall lost both his legs by one shot, and was afterwards killed by the fall of a mast which was shot by the board. The *Norfolk* obliged the *Constant* to quit the line. Meanwhile the *Princessa* and *Somerset* were disabled by the *Poder*; but she being afterwards engaged by Captain Hawke, in the *Berwick*, was dismasted and obliged to strike.

This irregular and partial conflict continued till night, when the French admiral, having collected his scattered fleet bore away. The British fleet pursued them all the next day; but on the 13th, though they were yet in sight, Admiral Mathews, being apprehensive that they intended to decoy him from the coast of Italy, made a signal to discontinue the chase. The French squadron put into *Alicant* on the 16th, and the Spaniards into *Carthage* on the day following. The British fleet, having spent some days, to no purpose, in looking out for the enemy, and afterwards in vainly attempting to regain their former station off *Toulon*, were at length obliged by contrary winds, to bear away for the island of *Minorca*.

Thus ended, chiefly in smoke, this memorable battle, which seemed to threaten a most tremendous conflict, and

which, from the superiority of the British fleet, ought to have annihilated the power of France and Spain. How it happened that so many of our captains were on that day *fascinated*, I know not; it is however very certain, that few of them were fairly engaged. Admiral Mathews was so dissatisfied with Lestock's conduct, that he suspended him from his command and sent him to England. That Lestock did not fight is most certain. He said in his defence, that he could not have engaged without breaking the line, which he was not authorized to do, because, though the signal for engaging was made, yet that for the line-of-battle was still abroad. That Mathews might be guilty of inattention in this particular without any impeachment of his abilities as a naval commander may surely be admitted, when we consider him bearing down upon the enemy and preparing to engage; but it was an excuse for declining an attack which an honest and brave man would never have pleaded. The misfortune originated in a continued misunderstanding between Mathews and Lestock; the latter of whom sacrificed his own reputation to the hope of ruining the former. In that hope he was but too successful; for, by the sentence of a court-martial in England, Admiral Mathews was dismissed, and rendered incapable of serving the king; Lestock was honourably acquitted. The people of England were however of a very different opinion from the court, and posterity will do justice to both commanders. Mathews was doubtless a brave and an honest man; Lestock was an artful, vindictive disciplinarian. Whether he were really a coward, cannot be positively determined; but if he were not deficient in courage, he apparently wanted both honour and honesty. As second in command, he had no business with the propriety or impropriety of orders. The last order, or signal, like a last will and testament, supercedes all the preceding signals, and ought to be immediately obeyed, regardless of any apparent impropriety or

absurdity. Every individual in a fleet or army, except the commander-in-chief, is a mere machine; whose business it is to execute, not to reason. The signal for the line-of-battle being abroad, when that for engaging was hoisted, was a pitiful excuse for not fighting. Lestock evidently saw, that the enemy was in our power, and though the admiral's signals might seem somewhat inconsistent, his intentions were not equivocal. Mathews might want head: Lestock certainly wanted heart. The one might deserve censure; the other ought to have been shot. By what extraordinary evidence, or other instigation, the members of the court-martial who determined the fate of these admirals, were influenced, I know not; but their sentence must for ever remain a blot in the annals of this country.

The few naval commanders who distinguished themselves in this skirmish, for it hardly deserves the name of a battle, were, the admirals Mathews and Rowley, the captains Cornwall, Forbes, Osborne and Hawke. Few of the rest were much engaged. The Spaniards lost but one ship, the *Poder*, and about a thousand men killed and wounded. The British fleet lost a fire-ship, and in killed and wounded about four hundred.

Notwithstanding this naval engagement in the Mediterranean with the combined fleets of France and Spain, there was yet no declaration of war between Great Britain and France. This ceremony, however, was at last performed. On the 20th of March, war was declared at Paris, and on the 31st of the same month, at London. The navy of France consisted, at this time, of forty-five ships of the line, sixty-seven frigates, and fifty-five galleys: that of England of ninety ships of the line, eighty-four frigates, and fifty other vessels; in all, two hundred and twenty-four ships of war. On the 23d of June the following promotions were made in the navy: Nicholas Haddock, Esq. and Sir Chaloner Ogle, appointed admirals of the blue; James Stuart, Esq. and Sir Charles

Hardy, vice-admirals of the red; Thomas Davers, Esq. and the honourable George Clinton, vice-admirals of the white; William Rowley and William Martin, Esqrs. vice-admirals of the blue; Isaac Townsend, Esq. rear-admiral of the red; Henry Medley, Esq. rear-admiral of the white; George Anson, Esq. rear-admiral of the blue.

The first fleet which sailed from England after the declaration of war with France, was commanded by Sir Charles Hardy; it consisted of eleven ships of the line. He sailed from St. Helen's on the 18th of April, with a number of store-ships under his convoy for the relief of the Mediterranean fleet, which was in great want of stores and provisions. Having put into the port of Lisbon, and being there detained by contrary winds, the French ministry, acquainted with his destination, sent immediate orders for the Brest squadron, of fourteen sail of the line, to block him up. This service was effectually performed, and Sir Charles remained in the Tagus.

On the 6th of July, the British navy was reinforced by the arrival of twenty Dutch men-of-war at Portsmouth, under the command of Admiral Bacherest. On the 15th, they were joined by Admiral Balchen with fourteen sail of the line.* This united fleet sailed from Spithead on the

* *British Division.*—Sir JOHN BALCHLN, admiral.

SHIPS.	GUNS.	SHIPS.	GUNS.
Hampton Court....	70	St. George.....	90
Augusta.....	60	Exeter	60
Captain	70		
Victory	110	Vice-admiral STUART.	
Princess Amelia ..	80	Sunderland	60
Vice-admiral MARTIN.		Monmouth.....	70
Falkland	50	Duke.....	90
Suffolk	70	Prince Frederick ..	60
		Princess Mary	60

Dutch Division.

Haerlem	70	Edam	54
Dordrecht	54	Assendelft	54
Damiatra	64	Delft	54
Lecuwenhorst	54	Two frigates.	

7th of August, to the relief of Sir Charles Hardy, and on the 9th of September came to an anchor off the rock of Lisbon. The French admiral having had previous intelligence of Balchen's approach, quitted his station. Sir Charles Hardy, with his convoy, joined the fleet, which immediately proceeded to Gibraltar, and, having reinforced the garrison, returned in search of the Brest squadron. But Mr. Rocham baud, the French admiral, was, by this time, safe in the harbour of Cadiz. Sir John Balchen entered the bay of Biscay, in his return to England, on the 30th of September, and, on the 3d of October, his whole fleet was dispersed by a violent storm. Several of the ships suffered considerably, particularly the *Exeter* and the *Duke*, the first of which lost her main and mizen masts, and was under the necessity of throwing twelve of her guns overboard; and the latter had all her sails torn to pieces, and ten feet water in her hold. The whole fleet, however, except the admiral, arrived at St. Helen's on the 10th of October. The *Victory* was separated from the rest of the fleet on the 4th, after which she was never seen or heard of more. It is generally supposed that she struck upon a ridge of rocks, called the *Caskets*, near *Alderney*, as repeated signals of distress were heard by the inhabitants of that island; but it blew so violently that it was impossible to give her any assistance. Thus perished the finest first-rate man-of-war in the world, one of the best admirals in the British service, eleven hundred sailors, and a considerable number of volunteers, many of whom were of families of distinction.

Having now concluded the naval transactions in Europe during the year 1744, we direct our inquiries toward America, where we left Sir Chaloner Ogle with the British fleet in the harbour of Port Royal in Jamaica, and admiral de Torres, with that of Spain, at the Havannah. In these respective situations they both remained, not otherwise employed than in sending out cruisers to inter-

rupt the trade of each nation ; till, on the 4th of November, de Torres, with five men-of-war and as many galleons, richly laden, sailed for Europe, and arrived safe at Corunna on the 29th of December. These galleons brought a treasure of fifteen millions of piastres.

During this year the navy of England sustained some considerable losses. I have before mentioned the fate of the unfortunate Victory. On the 4th of June, the Northumberland, a new ship of seventy guns and four hundred and eighty men, commanded by Captain Watson, cruizing in the channel, fell in with three French men-of-war, *viz.* the Mars of sixty-eight guns and five hundred and eighty men, commanded by Monsieur de Perrier; the Constant of sixty guns and four hundred and eighty men, commanded by Monsieur Conflans; and the Venus of twenty-six guns and two hundred and fifty men, commanded by Monsieur de Dacher. The Northumberland sustained this very unequal conflict for three hours, with amazing activity and resolution; till, unfortunately, Captain Watson was mortally wounded: she then struck her colours by order of the master, who was therefore afterwards sentenced by a court-martial, to spend the remainder of his life in the Marshalsea prison. The French ships lost one hundred and thirty men in the engagement, and their rigging was so shattered, that they intended to sheer off as soon as it was dark. They carried the Northumberland in great triumph into Brest, where Captain Watson died. The Seaford, Captain Pie, the Solebay, Captain Bury, both of twenty guns, and the Grampus sloop, were likewise taken by part of the Brest squadron in the course of this year.

Before I conclude the naval history of the year 1744, it is necessary to turn our eyes, for a moment, toward the East Indies. In consequence of an application to the lords of the admiralty, from the East India company,

commodore Barnet, with four men-of-war,* sailed from Portsmouth on the 5th of May, and, after his arrival in the East Indies, took a French fifty-gun ship, and three rich prizes.

At the close of this year it appeared, † that, since the commencement of the war, the Spaniards had taken seven hundred and eighty-six British vessels, which were valued at two million, seven hundred and fifty-one thousand pounds; and the British effects seized in Spain on the declaration of war, were estimated at fifty thousand pounds. On the other hand, the number of Spanish ships taken by our men-of-war and privateers, amounted to eight hundred and fifty, supposed to be worth two million, five hundred and fifty thousand pounds. To this if we add two million one hundred and eighty-one thousand pounds, the supposed amount of the prizes taken, fortifications destroyed, &c. by Admiral Vernon and Mr. Anson, the loss sustained by Spain will exceed that of Great Britain one million nine hundred and thirty thousand pounds. By a similar estimate of the account with France, there appeared above half a million sterling in our favour.

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1745.

Notwithstanding this balance, the reader has doubtless been disappointed to find our naval history of 1744 so unimportant, and, in the only engagement of consequence, so disgraceful. The fatal disagreement between Mathews and Lestock cannot be remembered without indignation; but the ministry, who knew their enmity, must have foreseen, and were therefore answerable for the consequence. That ministry was now changed. Lord Carteret resigned

SHIPS.	COMMANDERS.	GUNS.
* Viz. Deptford.....	Commodore Burnet.....	60
Medway	Captain Peyton.....	60
Preston	Lord Northesk.....	50
Diamond	Captain Moor	20

† Rolt's History, vol. iii. p. 460.

his place of secretary-of-state to the earl of Harrington, and the duke of Bedford was appointed first lord of the admiralty. Orders were immediately issued for every man-of-war in the several ports to be fitted for service. Admiral Davers was sent to protect Jamaica, the Mediterranean fleet was reinforced by Admiral Medley, and the coast of Great Britain was secured by cruizers properly stationed.

Meanwhile a project was formed in the general assembly of Massachuset in New England, to surprise the city of Louisburg, the capital of Cape Breton, and to drive the French entirely from that island. The ministry being made sensible of the importance of the enterprize, ordered Commodore Warren to quit his station at the Leeward Islands, and join the American expedition. This armament was raised with so much secrecy and despatch, that an army of three thousand eight hundred and fifty volunteers, under the command of William Pepperel, Esq. was ready to embark at Boston before the French government were apprized of their intention. They arrived at Canso in Nova Scotia, under the convoy of ten American privateers, on the 2d of April, and on the 25th were joined by Commodore Warren in the *Superbe* of sixty guns, attended by the *Lanconston*, the *Eltham*, and the *Mermaid*, of forty guns each. Canso is within sight of Cape Breton, and yet the inhabitants of that island were hitherto totally ignorant of their danger, till, on the 30th of April, they beheld this hostile fleet come to an anchor in Gabarus bay, about a league from Louisburg. The governor immediately sent a detachment of a hundred men to oppose the landing of the American troops; but the French were soon obliged to retire in confusion, and the invaders disembarked without the loss of a single man. General Pepperel immediately invested Louisburg, whilst Mr. Warren blocked up the harbour, convoyed several vessels with stores and provisions from Boston, and inter-

cepted a French man-of-war of forty-four guns, and other ships intended to relieve the city. Meanwhile he was joined by the Canterbury, the Sunderland, and the Chester; the two first of sixty guns, and the last a fifty-gun ship, and on the 11th of June the Princess Mary, the Hector, and the Lark, were also added to his fleet. On the 15th of June, Monsieur Chambon, the governor of Louisburg, sent a flag of truce to the British camp, and the island of Cape Breton was surrendered to his Britannic majesty.

It is impossible to consider, without astonishment, the rapid success of this handful of undisciplined Northern Americans, against a city regularly fortified, with several very formidable batteries, and defended by twelve hundred regular troops, and skilful engineers. But the activity and resolution of the besiegers was such, that skill and discipline fled before them like chaff before the wind. Can these Americans be a race of cowards? Are these a people to be bullied into obedience? * Will the feeble attempts of a General Wentworth in the West Indies bear any comparison with the conquest of Louisburg? It was indeed a very important conquest, as it dispossessed the French of the fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, and deprived them of their only sea-port in North America.

After the departure of Commodore Warren for North America, the West India islands were left in a great measure defenceless, Sir Chaloner Ogle having returned to England with six men-of-war. For this reason, vice-admiral Townsend was ordered from the Mediterranean to the West Indies, with a squadron of eight ships. † He sailed from Gibraltar on the 2d of August, and arrived off

* It will be recollected that the above passage was written during the war between Great Britain and her American colonies. H. R. Y.

	SHIPS.	GUNS.		SHIPS.	GUNS.
† Viz.	Lenox	..... 70		Worcester	..... 60
	Dreadnought	.... 60		Kingston	..... 60

Martinico on the 3d of October, when he was joined by the Pembroke of sixty guns, and the Woolwich of fifty. Admiral Townsend having had information that the inhabitants of Martinico were in great distress for provisions, determined to remain upon this station in order to prevent their receiving any supplies from France: for though it be a maxim of honourable war, among Christian princes, not to murder such of each other's subjects as do not bear arms, it is nevertheless universally allowable to destroy by hunger as many peaceable men, women, and children as they can. Gospel and political christianity are very different religions.

On the 31st of October, Admiral Townsend discovered a fleet of forty sail of French ships turning the southern extremity of Martinico. It proved to be a fleet of merchant-men and store-ships sent to the relief of the French West India islands, under convoy of four men-of-war, commanded by Commodore M'Namara; who, perceiving the superiority of his enemy, saved himself by running under the guns of Fort-Royal. The other three men-of-war also escaped; but near thirty of the other vessels were either taken, burnt, sunk, or driven on shore. The admiral likewise took a large privateer and three Dutch vessels bound from St. Eustatia to Martinico with provisions, by which he had the happiness of compleating the famine on that island so entirely, that many thousand negroes and other inhabitants perished of hunger. Exploits of this nature must afford infinite satisfaction on reflection; especially when they contribute nothing either to the glory or emolument of the state!

Such were our naval exploits in the West Indies in the year 1745, exclusive of some valuable prizes taken by our men-of-war and privateers; the most considerable of

Hampshire 50
Argyle 50
Severn 50

Gibraltar 20
Camet bomb.

which were, the Marquis d'Antin and the Lewis Erasmus, worth seventy thousand pounds, taken by the Prince Frederic and the Duke privateers. In the course of this year the British navy suffered the loss of one sloop only, which was taken and carried into Martinico; while the British cruisers, in that part of the world, made captures of five French and two Spanish men-of-war.

In Europe nothing material happened to grace our annals. Admiral Martin commanded a squadron in the Channel, attending the motions of the Brest fleet. Rear-admiral Medley sailed from Spithead, with seven men-of-war, in order to reinforce Admiral Rowley, who now commanded in the Mediterranean, and arrived at Minorca on the 10th of April. Thus strengthened, the vice-admiral proceeded, with twenty-four ships of the line, to block up the Spanish fleet at Carthagená, which he thereby prevented either from transporting troops to Italy or from joining the French squadron at Brest. The republic of Genoa having declared against the queen of Hungary, Admiral Rowley detached a part of his fleet, under the command of Commodore Cooper, to bombard the towns upon their coast; several of these towns suffered considerably, particularly St. Remo, which he reduced almost to ashes.

A.D. 1746. The year 1746 affords not a single example of the naval superiority of Great Britain. It is nevertheless necessary, in order to preserve the thread of our history, to inform the reader where and how our several fleets were employed. Commodore Barnet, who died in the East Indies, was succeeded in the command of the squadron by Captain Peyton. This squadron consisted of six men-of-war,*

SHIPS.	COMMANDERS.	GUNS.
* <i>Viz.</i> Medway.....	Commodore Peyton.....	60
Preston	Lord Northesk	50
Harwich.....	Captain Carteret	50
Winchester	Lord Thomas Bertie	50
Medway's Prize ..	Captain Griffith.....	40
Lively.....	Captain Stevens	20

which were now stationed at Fort St. David. At Pondicherry the French had eight ships of force, under the command of Monsieur Bourdonnais.* Commodore Peyton, cruising between the coast of Coromandel and the island of Ceylon, on the 25th of June, fell in with Bourdonnais, whose squadron was somewhat reduced by the loss of the *Insulaire*. Both squadrons prepared to engage, and about four in the afternoon they began to fire upon each other. The battle lasted till seven, it being then almost dark. The English had fourteen men killed, and forty-six wounded; the French twenty-seven killed, and fifty-three wounded. Next morning the two fleets appeared at no great distance from each other; but neither of the commanders chose to renew the engagement. At four in the evening, Mr. Peyton called a council of war, which determined, as councils of war generally do, not to fight. When a commander in chief, invested with full power to act by his sole authority, calls a council of war, it creates a strong suspicion, that he wants to divide the blame of an unjustifiable action. The history of mankind affords innumerable examples of cowardice in collective bodies, of which every individual would have been horribly ashamed. The English squadron proceeded to the island of Ceylon, and the French to Pondicherry.

Our principal historian of these times † asserts, that the British squadron was superior to that of the enemy. This, however, was evidently not the case: therefore the imputation of cowardice seems to fall more particularly on the French commodore. But Monsieur Bourdonnais had a greater object in view. The reduction of Madras promised a better harvest than disabling a few men-of-

SHIPS.	GUNS.	SHIPS.	GUNS.
* <i>Viz.</i> The Achilles	74	Phoenix	41
Duc d'Orleans	56	St. Louis	41
Bourbon	56	Insulaire	20
Neptune	44	Idis	40

† Dr. Smollet's History, vol. vii. p. 387.

war. He appeared before that settlement on the 13th of August, and fired upon one of the ships belonging to the English East India company, chiefly with a design to try whether Mr. Peyton meant to defend the place. Our *brave* commodore, for reasons best known to himself, as soon as he was informed of this insult, and consequently of the danger of Madras, immediately disappeared, and sailed the Lord knows whither. Monsieur Bourdonnais, with his whole squadron, returned to Madras on the 3d of September, and in a short time made himself master of that important place. He would probably have succeeded in the reduction of every other British settlement on that coast, if he had not been prevented by a violent storm, which disabled a considerable part of his fleet.

In Europe, great designs were formed in the respective cabinets of England and France against each other's settlements in North America. The French determined to retake Louisbourg, and also to surprize Annapolis-Royal in Nova Scotia. The English, on the other hand, planned the reduction of Quebec. Both kingdoms were disappointed in their expectations. The French fleet, consisting of eleven ships of the line, three frigates, three fire-ships, and two bombs, came out of Brest on the 7th of May, but was prevented, by contrary winds, from proceeding on the voyage till the 22d of June. This fleet, which, with privateers and transports, made in all ninety-seven sail, was commanded by the Duke d'Anville. He had on board three thousand five hundred land forces, under the command of Brigadier-general Jonquiere. They did not make the coast of Acadia till the 10th of September, and on the 13th a storm arose, which, continuing some days, dispersed the fleet, and destroyed several of the transports; so that, on the 27th, they mustered at Chiboctou, their place of rendezvous, no more than seven ships of the line, two frigates, one fire-ship, one bomb-vessel, twelve privateers, and eighteen transports, in all

fifty-six sail. While they lay in the harbour of Chiboutou, the mortality was so great, that, in a short space of time, they buried their commander-in-chief, their second in command, one thousand five hundred of the land forces, and eight hundred sailors. The number of their ships and of their men being thus reduced, they gave up every idea of conquest, and sailed for Europe on the 12th of October, where they arrived without farther accident.

Meanwhile the British ministry, as I have said above, had planned an expedition for the reduction of Quebec. For this purpose, a considerable fleet was assembled at Portsmouth, in the month of April, and several regiments were actually embarked under the command of General Sinclair. The duke of Newcastle having previously communicated his intention of invading Canada to the northern provinces of America, requiring their assistance, ten thousand men were immediately raised, and waited impatiently for the arrival of the British fleet. But such was the irresolution of the ministry at this period of our history, that the French were not only informed of their design, but had time to equip a squadron sufficient to counteract the entire project. This squadron, as we have seen above, sailed from France on the 22d of June. It was indeed ready to sail six weeks sooner, but was detained by contrary winds.

The British ministry having now relinquished their design against Canada, resolved to make a descent on the coast of Britany, in France, and particularly to destroy Port l'Orient, in order to ruin the French East India company. Lieutenant-general Sinclair commanded the land forces, and the command of the fleet was given to Admiral Lestock, that very Lestock with whose conduct in the Mediterranean the reader is sufficiently acquainted. This armament consisted of sixteen ships of the line, eight frigates, and two bomb-vessels, besides store-ships and transports, on board of which were five thousand

eight hundred regular troops, including matrosses and bombardiers. After various unaccountable delays, during which the French were perfectly acquainted with their destination, they sailed at last from Plymouth on the 14th of September, and, steering directly for the coast of Brittany, came to an anchor in Quimperlay-bay on the 18th. General Sinclair, with the troops under his command, landed on the 20th in the evening, without the least molestation, and the next morning took possession of a small town called Plemure, about a league from l'Orient, and there fixed his head-quarters. On the 22d, the British army having advanced to a rising ground about half a league from the city, General Sinclair summoned it to surrender; but the governor, not liking the conditions, determined to defend it. On the 25th the besiegers opened a battery of twelve cannon and a mortar, and the next day began to throw red-hot balls into the town, which took fire in several parts. During this time the besieged continued to fire from the ramparts with great alacrity: nevertheless, their fortifications were in such bad condition, that on the 27th they had resolved to beat a parley; when, to their infinite surprize and joy, the firing of the besiegers ceased. General Sinclair and his army retreated to their camp, leaving behind them four pieces of cannon, the mortar, and a considerable quantity of ammunition, and on the 28th re-embarked without molestation. Their loss during the siege amounted, in killed and wounded, to eighty men. Why the British general fled, with so much precipitation, from the arms of victory, is difficult to imagine, unless he was discouraged on finding the enterprize not seconded by the admiral, who, according to the original plan, was to have brought his ships to bear upon the town. Mr. Lestock said, in his defence, that the enemy had rendered his entrance into the harbour of Port l'Orient impracticable. Probably the signals for advancing, as with Mathews in the Medi-

terranean, were not made in due form. But the cause of their miscarriage seems to have originated in not landing the troops immediately, and storming the town without the loss of a moment. When the British fleet came to an anchor, the garrison of Port l'Orient was very weak, and few of their guns were mounted on the ramparts. Some of our subsequent attempts on the coast of France have been frustrated by the same cause. The principal damage done to the enemy in this expedition, was the destruction of the *Ardent*, a sixty-four gun ship, by the *Exeter*, who, after an obstinate engagement, ran her on shore, and afterwards set her on fire. Admiral Lestock, with his entire squadron, left the coast of France on the 8th of October, and returned to England, without having in any degree fulfilled the intentions of the ministry, which were, to ruin the French East India company by destroying l'Orient, and, by dividing the French troops, to facilitate the invasion of Provence by the Austrian army.*

In the West Indies † nothing of importance was attempted by any of the belligerent powers. We find, however, upon record one naval transaction, which, though it will not add much to our national renown, ought nevertheless to be remembered *in terrorem*. Vice-admiral Davers, who commanded on the Jamaica station, having received intelligence that Monsieur Conflans, with four men-of-war ‡ and ninety merchantmen, from France, was hourly expected at Martinico, detached Commodore Mitchell with five men-of-war and a sloop, § to intercept him.

* The celebrated David Hume attended General Sinclair, as his secretary, on this expedition.

† Rolt, vol. iv. p. 360.

‡ *Viz.* The *Terrible*, of seventy-four guns, one of sixty-four, one of fifty-four, and one of forty-four.

	SHIPS.	GUNS.		SHIPS.	GUNS.
§ <i>Viz.</i>	Stafford	60		Plymouth	60
	Lenox	64		Worcester	60
	Milford	44		Drake sloop.	

He fell in with the French fleet on the 3d of August, and at seven in the evening was about a league to windward of them, when, instead of engaging the enemy, he made a signal to speak with the captains of his squadron, a majority of whom were of opinion, that it were best to defer the battle till next morning. These councils of war, as I have before observed, seldom forbode much heroism. When a man calls his friends about him, to ask them whether he shall fight to-day or to-morrow, there is great reason to believe that he had rather not fight at all. However, general orders were given to keep the enemy in sight, and to engage as soon as day-light should appear. But the French merchant vessels, being so unpolite as not to wait to be taken by the English, all escaped; and Monsieur Conflans, after exchanging a few shot with the British squadron, followed his convoy. Mr. Mitchel's caution was so great, that when night came on he ordered his ships to carry no lights, lest the French should be so rude as to give him chace. Monsieur Conflans, in his return to Europe, fell in with an English fleet from the Leeward Islands, under the convoy of the Woolwich and Severn, of fifty guns each, the latter of which, after two hours engagement, he took and carried into Brest. Mitchel, being afterwards tried by a court-martial, was fined five years pay, and rendered incapable of future service.

The British fleet in the Mediterranean was this year commanded by Vice-admiral Medley, whose principal transaction was the assistance which he gave to the Austrian general at the siege of Antibes. Admiral Martin, who commanded in the channel, was in the month of July succeeded by Admiral Anson, who was appointed vice-admiral of the blue.

The French, in the course of this year, took from the English one man-of-war of sixty guns, two sloops, nine privateers, one East Indiaman, and four hundred and sixty-six merchant vessels. The Spaniards took one

hundred and eighty-three British ships. The British men-of-war and privateers took from the Spaniards twenty-two privateers, ten register-ships, and eighty-eight merchant-men. From the French we took seven men-of-war, ninety-one privateers, and three hundred and twelve merchant vessels.

The French ministry, notwithstanding their late disappointment in North America, were determined to increase their force in Canada, and, with the assistance of Canadians and Indians, to extend their territories by encroachments on the neighbouring provinces belonging to Great Britain. At the same time they formed a design against some of our settlements in the East Indies. For these purposes, in the beginning of the year 1747, a considerable armament was prepared at Brest; the squadron destined for America, under the command of Monsieur Jonquiere, and that for the East Indies, commanded by Monsieur de St. George. For greater security, these two fleets were to sail at the same time.

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The British ministry, being informed of the strength and destination of this squadron, sent a superiour fleet to the coast of France, commanded by Vice-admiral Anson. He sailed from Plymouth on the 9th of April, and, cruising off Cape Finisterre, on the 3d of May fell in with the French fleet, consisting of thirty-eight sail, nine of which shortened sail and prepared to engage, while the rest bore away with all the sail they could make. Admiral Anson first formed his squadron in line-of-battle; but, perceiving the enemy begin to sheer off, he made a signal for his whole fleet to give chase, and engage promiscuously. The Centurion came up with the sternmost ship of the enemy about four in the afternoon. She was followed by the Namur, Defiance, and Windsor, who were soon warmly engaged with five of the French squadron. * The

* London Gazette, May 16.

Centurion had her main-top-mast shot away early in the action, which obliged her to drop astern; but she was soon repaired. The battle now became general, and the French maintained this very unequal conflict with great spirit and gallantry, till about seven in the evening, when the whole fleet struck their colours. The Diamant was the last French ship that submitted, after fighting the Bristol near three hours. In justice to our enemy it is necessary to remember, that the squadron commanded by Admiral Anson, consisted of fourteen ships of the line, a frigate, a sloop, and a fire-ship, with nine hundred and twenty-two guns, and six thousand two hundred and sixty men on board; * and that Monsieur de la Jonquiere had no more than five line-of-battle ships, and as many frigates, four hundred and forty-two guns, and three thousand one hundred and seventy-one men. † Admiral Anson in the

* London Gazette, May 16. ENGLISH.

SHIPS.	CAPTAINS.	GUNS.
Prince George	Admiral Anson .. Bentley	90
Devonshire	Rear-Adm. Warren .. West	66
Namur	Boscawen	74
Monmouth	Harrison	64
Prince Frederic	Norris	64
Yarmouth	Bret	64
Princess Louisa	Watson	60
Defiance	Gronville	60
Nottingham	Saumarez	60
Pembroke	Fincher	60
Windsor	Hanway	60
Centurion	Dennis	50
Falkland	Barradel	50
Bristol	Hon. W. Montague	50
Ambuscade	Jn. Montague	40
Falcon sloop	Gynn	10
Vulcan fire-ship	Pattigrew	

† FRENCH.

SHIPS.	COMMANDERS.	GUNS.
Le Serieux	M. De Jonquiere	66
L'Invincible	De St. George	74
Le Diamant	Hoguier	56

mean time detached the Monmouth, the Yarmouth, and the Nottingham, in pursuit of the convoy, and they returned with the Vigilant and Modeste, both of twenty-two guns, the rest having made their escape. But though we acknowledge the great superiority of the British squadron, it is necessary to inform the reader, that no more than eight English ships were engaged. Captain Grenville, of the Defiance, a very gallant officer, lost his life in this engagement. Our number of killed and wounded amounted to five hundred and twenty; that of the enemy to seven hundred. Captain Boscawen was wounded in the shoulder by a musket-ball. Monsieur de la Jonquiere was also wounded in the same part; one French captain was killed, and another lost a leg.

Admiral Anson returned to England, and brought the captive squadron safe to an anchor at Spithead. He set out immediately for London, where he was graciously received by the king, and afterwards created a peer. Rear-admiral Warren was made knight of the bath. The money taken on board of the French fleet was brought through the city of London in twenty waggons, and lodged in the bank.

About the middle of April, Captain Fox in the Kent, with the Hampton Court, the Eagle, the Lion, the Chester and the Hector, with two fire-ships, sailed on a cruize, designing to intercept a fleet of St. Domingo-men under the convoy of four French men-of-war. After cruizing a month between Ushant and Cape Finisterre, Captain Fox fell in with this French fleet of one hundred

SHIPS.	COMMANDERS.	GUNS.
Le Jason	Beccard	52
Le Rubis	M'Carty	52
La Gloire	Salesse	44
L'Aolian	De Santons	30
Le Philipert	Cellie	30
Le Thetis	Magon	20
Le Dartmouth	Penecho	18

and seventy sail. They were immediately deserted by their men-of-war, and forty-six of them were taken.

The British ministry having received intelligence, that nine French men-of-war of the line* had sailed from Brest, in order to convoy a large fleet of merchant-men to the West Indies, ordered Rear-admiral Hawke, with fourteen men-of-war, † to sail immediately in quest of them. The admiral, with the fleet under his command, left Plymouth on the 9th of August. The French fleet, consisting of the above-mentioned men-of-war and two hundred and fifty-two merchant vessels, sailed from the isle of Aix on the 6th of October, and on the 14th they had the misfortune to fall in with the British squadron. As soon as the French admiral became sensible of his

SHIPS.	COMMANDERS.	GUNS.
* Viz. Le Tonant	M. de Letenduer	80
L'Intrepide	Conte de Vaudrenil ..	74
Le Terrible	Conte Dogue.....	74
Le Monarque	M. de Bedoyerre	74
Le Neptune.....	M. de Fionmentierre ..	70
Le Trident	M. Demblimont	64
Le Fougoux	M. Davigneau	64
Le Severn	M. Durourel	56
Le Content, belonging to the East India Company		60
Besides several frigates.		

London Gazette extraordinary, October 26.

SHIPS.	CAPTAINS.	GUNS.
† Viz. Devonshire (Admiral)	Moore	66
Kent	Fox	64
Edinburgh	Cotes	70
Yarmouth	Saunders	64
Princess Louisa	Watson.....	60
Windsor	Hanway	60
Lion	Scot	60
Tilbury	Harland	60
Nottingham	Saumarez.....	60
Defiance	Bentley.....	60
Eagle	Rodney.....	60
Gloucester.....	Durel	50
Portland.....	Stevens.....	50

London Gazette extraordinary, October 26.

situation, he made a signal for the trade to make the best of their way, with the Content and frigates, and for the rest of his squadron to prepare for battle. Admiral Hawke first made a signal to form the line; but finding the French begin to sheer off, he ordered his whole fleet to give chase, and engage as they came up with the enemy. The Lion and the Louisa began the conflict about noon, and were soon followed by the Tilbury, the Eagle, the Yarmouth, the Windsor, and the Devonshire, which ships particularly shared the danger and consequently the glory of the day.

About four o'clock four of the French squadron struck, viz. Le Neptune, Le Monarque, Le Fougoux, and Le Severn; at five Le Trident followed their example, and Le Terrible surrendered about seven. Be it however remembered, to the credit of their several commanders, that they maintained this unequal conflict with great spirit and resolution, and that they did not submit until they were entirely disabled. Their number of killed and wounded was about eight hundred, and of prisoners three thousand three hundred men. M. Fromentierre, who commanded Le Neptune, was among the slain, and their commander-in-chief was wounded in the leg and in the shoulder. The English had one hundred and fifty-four killed, and five hundred and fifty-eight wounded. Captain Saumarez, of the Nottingham, was among the former. We lost no other officer of distinction. On the last day of October Admiral Hawke brought these six French men-of-war to Portsmouth in triumph, and, in reward for his services, was soon after honoured with the order of the bath. He was dissatisfied with the behaviour of Captain Fox in the engagement, who was tried by a court-martial and deprived of his command; but he was restored about two years after.

Vice-admiral Medley, who commanded a fleet of fifteen ships of the line in the Mediterranean, died there on the

5th of August, and was succeeded by Rear-admiral Byng, who continued to block up the Spanish squadron in Carthagea, and to act in concert with the Austrian general on the coast of Italy. Rear-admiral Chambers commanded nine men-of-war in the channel, and on the 1st of November Rear-admiral Boscawen sailed for the East Indies with six ships of the line.

During this year the English took from the French and Spaniards six hundred and forty-four prizes, among which were one Spanish and seventeen French men-of-war. The English vessels, including one man-of-war and a fire-ship, taken by the French and Spaniards, amounted to five hundred and fifty-one. The royal navy of Spain was now reduced to twenty-two ships of the line, and that of France to thirty-one; whilst the navy of Britain amounted to one hundred and twenty-six sail of the line, besides seventy-five frigates.

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1748.

Being arrived at the last year of this general war, I shall begin with the history of our naval transactions in the West Indies, where the British fleet was now commanded by Rear-admiral Knowles. He sailed from Jamaica on the 13th of February, with eight ships of the line,* on an expedition against St. Jago de Cuba; but being prevented by contrary winds from approaching that island, Port Louis, in Hispaniola, became the object of his hostile intentions, before which place he arrived on the 8th of March. Port Louis was defended by a strong

SHIPS.	CAPTAINS.	GUNS.
* Viz. Cornwall (Admiral)	Chadwick	80
Plymouth	Dent	60
Elizabeth	Taylor	64
Canterbury	Brodie	60
Stafford	Rentone	60
Warwick	Innes	60
Worcester	Andrews	60
Oxford	Toll	50
Weasel and Merlin sloops,		

fort, mounting seventy-eight guns, with a garrison of six hundred men, commanded by M. de Chaleaunoye. The admiral began his attack immediately on his arrival, and after three hours violent cannonading, silenced the fort, which surrendered on the following terms, *viz.* The garrison not to serve against the king of Great Britain or his allies during a year; that they should march out with their arms, but without cannon, mortars, or ammunition; that the officers should retain their private baggage and servants; that the town should be spared on certain conditions to be settled next morning. The garrison lost one hundred and sixty men killed and wounded, and the fleet seventy. Among the slain were the Captains Rentone and Cust, the last of whom was a volunteer in the expedition.

Admiral Knowles having entirely destroyed the fort, resumed his former design against St. Jago de Cuba, where he arrived on the 5th of April. The Plymouth and the Cornwall were ordered to enter the harbour; but finding a boom across, and four vessels filled with combustibles, after firing a few broadsides at the castle, they judged it prudent to desist, and the squadron returned to Jamaica. Captain Dent of the Plymouth was afterwards, at the request of the admiral, tried by a court-martial for not forcing the boom, and was honourably acquitted.

From this time the British and Spanish fleets were solely employed in cruising in detachments against the trade of each nation. Toward the latter end of August, Admiral Knowles having received intelligence that the annual fleet from Vera Cruz was daily expected at the Havannah, began to cruize off the banks of Tortuga. The Spanish admiral Reggio, being informed of the vicinity of the English squadron, and of the consequent danger of the expected fleet, sailed from the Havannah,

determined to give Admiral Knowles battle.* On the 29th of September, Admiral Reggio saw, at a distance, fourteen sail of English merchant-men, under convoy of two men-of-war; he gave them chase, but they had the good fortune to escape, and the *Lenox*, having made a signal for his convoy to save themselves by flight, joined Admiral Knowles, who, on the first of October, fell in with the Spanish squadron near the Havannah.

By a comparison of the two squadrons, it appears that in number of ships they were equal; that in number of guns the Spaniards were somewhat superiour, and that in number of men they exceeded us by one thousand two hundred and fifty.† The English admiral, though he had the advantage of the wind, did not at first seem over-anxious to engage. About two o'clock the Spaniards began to fire at a distance. Admiral Knowles then made a signal for his squadron to bear down upon the enemy,

** British Squadron.*

SHIPS.	CAPTAINS.	GUNS.
Cornwall (Adm. Knowles)	Taylor	80
Lenox	Holmes	56
Tilbury	Pawlett	60
Strafford	Brodie	60
Warwick	Innes	60
Canterbury	Clarke	60
Oxford	Toll	50

426—Men 2,900.

Spanish Squadron.

SHIPS.	CAPTAINS.	GUNS.
Africa	Admiral Reggio	74
Invincible	Rear-admiral Spinola	74
Conquistadore ...	Don de St. Justo	64
Dragon	— de la Pas	64
New Spain	— Barella	64
Royal Family	— Terrestal	64
Galga	— Garrecocha	36

† Rolt, vol. iv. p. 567.

440—Men 4,150.

and in less than half an hour most of the ships were engaged. The two admirals fought each other about half an hour, when Admiral Knowles, having received some damage, fell astern and quitted the line. The Conquestadore, being likewise injured in her rigging, was also obliged to quit the line-of-battle, and before she had time to repair the damage she had sustained, she had the misfortune to be attacked by the British admiral, who had now replaced the yard and main-top mast which he had lost in his engagement with the Africa. They fought for some time with great obstinacy. The Spanish captain was killed, and the Conquestadore finally struck to the Cornwall. The general action continued till eight in the evening, when the Spaniards began to edge away towards the Havannah, and got safe into port, except the Conquestadore and the Africa, which last, being entirely dismasted, was run on shore and blown up by the Spanish admiral. The Spaniards had in this action three captains and eighty-six men killed, and one hundred and ninety-seven wounded; among the latter were Admiral Reggio and fourteen other officers. The English, though they had fifty-nine killed and one hundred and twenty wounded, were so fortunate as not to lose a single officer.

After this action the English captains were by no means satisfied with each other's conduct. The admiral himself was accused by some of them, and he was afterwards tried by a court-martial, and reprimanded for not hoisting his flag on board another ship after his own was disabled. It seems indeed very probable, notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy, that if the English fleet had been commanded by a Hawke, not a single Spaniard would have escaped.

This was the last naval action of importance previous to the general peace, which was finally concluded in the month of October, 1748. The English, during this year, took one Spanish and three French men-of-war. The

whole number of vessels taken from the Spaniards since the commencement of the war amounted to one thousand two hundred and forty-nine; from the French to two thousand one hundred and eighty-five: in all three thousand three hundred and thirty-four. The entire loss of the English amounted to three thousand two hundred and thirty-eight ships.

When we consider the immense value of these captures; when we reflect that most of this wealth was private property; when we count the number of lives that were sacrificed during the war, and recollect that all the people sacrificed were neither consulted nor concerned in the contest: when we farther reflect, that all the princes who caused this horrible destruction of life and property, professed the religion of peace, charity, philanthropy and concord, we are disgusted with human nature, and laugh at the pretension of kings to christianity. But what will the reader think of these mighty potentates, when he is told, that, after all this waste of blood and treasure, the war ended just where it began. None of the contending powers retained any part of their acquisitions, the fifth article of the treaty of peace having stipulated, that all conquests whatsoever should be restored; consequently, Cape Breton was restored to the French, and Madras to the English. Great Britain had now increased her national debt to eighty millions, and her sole consolation was her having reduced the navy of France to a state of contemptible insignificance. As to that nation, the terms of peace were easily settled, because we fought with her without any previous cause of quarrel or dispute; she began the war merely in consequence of her alliance with Spain: but against that nation we commenced hostilities, solely with a design to secure an uninterrupted navigation to our own settlements; nevertheless, strange as it may seem, this important article was entirely neglected, or forgotten, by our plenipotentiaries at Aix-la-Chapelle.

Our right to cut logwood in Campeachy and Honduras, an article of equal consequence to this nation, was also left undetermined. But these were not the only examples of inattention, I cannot suppose it ignorance, in the British ministry at this very important period. The French, in consequence of possessing Canada, had, for many years past, been gradually extending the limits of that province, and, in open violation of the treaty of Utrecht, their encroachments were now flagrant and oppressive to our North American colonies : yet the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was concluded without this notorious cause of complaint being mentioned by the British plenipotentiaries. The limits of Nova Scotia, another doubtful point, were also left undetermined.

From this precarious state of affairs, it was easy to foresee, that the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle would be of no long duration ; and, from the conduct of the French immediately after, their latent intentions were obvious. But before we proceed to develop the *principia* of the succeeding war, it is necessary to record certain transactions in the British parliament, which are immediately connected with our naval history.

The ministry, * for very wise reasons no doubt, brought a bill into parliament, under the title of, “ A bill for reducing into one act the laws relating to the navy ;” by which the half-pay officers were to be rendered subject to martial law. The sea-officers took the alarm : they assembled, and presented a petition to the house, requesting to be heard by their counsel, and though the minister mustered sufficient strength to reject the petition, he thought proper to relinquish his unconstitutional attempt. Another plan, † relative to the navy, was also offered to the consideration of parliament, *viz.* to register a certain number of seamen, who, for an annual stipend, should be

* Smollet's Continuation of the History of England, vol. vi. p. 19.

† Ibid. p. 32.

liable to serve when called upon. This project, being calculated to supersede the illegal necessity of pressing, appeared rational; nevertheless Mr. Pelham found it to be an unpopular measure, and therefore gave it up.

In the course of this year, 1748, the earl of Halifax, who presided at the board of trade, formed a design of establishing a colony in Nova Scotia. His project was approved, and four thousand adventurers, under the protection of Colonel Cornwallis, sailed from England, and landed in the harbour of Chebuctou, in the neighbourhood of which they built a town and called it Halifax. The French were displeased with this exertion of our right, and, by way of counterbalance, attempted to make a settlement on the island of Tobago in the West Indies; but, in consequence of a spirited remonstrance to the court of Versailles, they thought proper to desist. They continued nevertheless to assert their title to St. Lucia, Tobago, and other neutral islands; and in North America their daily encroachments were so daring, that the subjects of Great Britain bordering on the French settlements, became very loud in their complaints to our ministry. The French ministry, according to custom, endeavoured to exculpate themselves by throwing the blame on the governor of Canada. After several ineffectual memorials and remonstrances delivered by our ambassador at Paris, commissaries of each nation, were appointed, in the year 1750, to settle the limits of Acadia or Nova Scotia. These commissaries met at Paris, and proceeded with all that deliberate circumspection which is generally observed by servants of the public whose stipends must end with their commission. The French commissaries, in order to gain time by evading the main question, drew their antagonists into a discussion concerning the island of St. Lucia. Meanwhile the Indians bordering on the British dominions in North America, were instigated by the French to commence their barbarous hostilities against the defenceless

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inhabitants of our back settlements. The Spaniards, in 1752, began again their former practice, of insolently interrupting our navigation in the West Indies by their Guarda Costas, and in Europe the navy both of France and Spain were daily augmenting. In 1753 the conference at Paris, concerning the limits of Nova Scotia, ended without effect; and the French continued to extend their dominions in North America, by erecting a chain of forts along the lakes of Erie and Ontario, so as to connect their settlements on the Mississippi with Canada. At length, presuming on the amazing supineness of the British ministry, they crossed Lake Champlain, and built a fort at Crown Point, in the province of New York. A reader of English history, who reflects as he reads, when he meets with such examples of inactivity, such want of vigilance, such impolitic procrastination, is necessarily led to inquire into the cause. Is this incelerity, if I may be allowed the word, to be attributed to our natural or political constitution? Be this as it may, what we lose in time, as in mechanics, we sometimes gain in power.

The French ministry, notwithstanding such flagrant acts of hostility in America, continued to amuse the court of London with repeated assurances of friendship. But early in the year 1755, certain intelligence was received, that a considerable fleet of men-of-war was preparing to sail from different ports in France, to America, with a formidable number of land forces on board. The British ministry, roused at this intelligence, gave immediate orders to equip a squadron of men-of-war, and, toward the latter end of April, Admiral Boscawen, with eleven ships of the line, sailed for America. He was soon after followed by Admiral Holbourne, with six line-of-battle ships and one frigate, the ministry having received subsequent intelligence that the French fleet, intended for America, consisted of twenty-five ships of the line, &c. This fleet sailed from Brest in the beginning of May; but,

after sailing a few leagues beyond the mouth of the English channel, Monsieur Macnamara, the commander-in-chief, returned to Brest, with nine of the capital ships, and the rest proceeded to North America, under the command of Monsieur Bois de la Mothe. Admiral Boscawen's orders were, to attack the French fleet wheresoever he should meet it. Being joined by Admiral Holbourne, he continued cruizing off the banks of Newfoundland, in hopes of intercepting the French squadron in their attempt to enter the gulf of St. Lawrence. But the thick fog, so frequent on that coast, favoured their enterprize, and Monsieur de la Mothe arrived safe at Quebec with his whole squadron, except the Alcide and the Lys, the first of sixty-four guns and four hundred and eighty men; the second of twenty-two, though pierced for sixty-four, with eight companies of land forces on board. These two unfortunate ships fell in with the Dunkirk, Captain Howe, and the Defiance, Captain Andrews, both sixty gun ships. After a resolute engagement of five hours, the French ships struck. On board the Lys were several officers of distinction, and about eighty thousand pounds sterling.

From the capture of these two ships the commencement of the war may properly be dated. As soon as it was known in Europe, the French ambassador left London, and the British ministry issued general orders for making reprisals in every different part of the globe. In consequence of this resolution, three hundred French merchantmen were taken and brought into England before the expiration of this year. On the 21st of July, Sir Edward Hawke sailed on a cruize to the westward, with eighteen ships of the line, and, on the 14th of October, Admiral Byng proceeded to sea with twenty-two ships. Both these fleets returned without meeting with any thing worth their attention. The French nevertheless bore these insults with a degree of patience which astonished all Europe. But they were not yet prepared for war; their

alliances were yet unformed, and their fleet was much inferiour to that of Great Britain, which, at this time, consisted of two hundred and thirteen men-of-war; * that of France, including ships upon the stocks, amounted to no more than one hundred and thirteen. †

In the beginning of this year Major-general Braddock sailed from Cork, with two regiments of foot, for Virginia, with orders to dispossess the French of the lands they had unjustly usurped. That general was totally defeated, and slain, by an ambuscade of Indians. I have before observed, that three hundred French merchantmen were brought into the ports of England; and all this without a declaration of war. The British ministry intended, by this extraordinary conduct, to validate their offensive alliances, and that the private property of the subjects of France might not suffer, the several cargoes of the ships taken were ordered not to be touched. But this appearance of strict justice was a mere chimera, because many of these cargoes consisted of perishable commodities, and consequently proved a loss to the owners, without producing any profit to those by whom they were taken. The French had evidently, and flagrantly, broken the

* Viz.	ENGLISH.	† FRENCH.
1 ship of	110 guns and 1100 men.	6 ships of 80 guns each.
5	100 1000 each.	21 7½
13	90 700	1 72
8	80 600	4 70
5	74 500	31 64
29	70 480	2 60
39	60 400	6 50
3	54 350	32 frigates.
28	50 300	
4	44 250	113
35	40 250	
42	20 140	
31 from ..	18 to 10 ... 100	

213 besides bomb-ketches, fire-ships, and tenders.

bonds of peace by their audacious encroachments in America, so palpably contradictory to the tenor of treaties between the two nations. For the credit of England, I wish that a formal declaration of war had preceded the first act of hostility on our part. Previous to such declaration, every act of hostility is a piracy against the subjects of either nation. It is surely a sufficient hardship for subjects to be ruinously involved in the quarrels of their superiours after such quarrels are notorious; but to feel the horrible effects of such quarrels, whilst these superiours wear the mask of mutual friendship, requires a greater degree of patience than any subjects can be supposed to possess. In the next volume we shall proceed to the naval history of the year 1756.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.
